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ABSTRACT

Indigenous Christian Response
To the Challenge of Contemporary Korean Shamanism
Within the Protestant Churches of Korea

Younsik Noh

The purpose of the dissertation is to find a new missiological approach to solve the problem of "dual allegiance" of Korean syncretistic folk Christians. The project has three specific stages:

At stage one, the author examines the religious phenomena of contemporary Korean Shamanism by using the categories in phenomenology of religion as described by Friedrich Heiler. Through the phenomenological approach, the writer understands the reality and strength of contemporary Korean Shamanism; it is not a mere superstition but is a complete religious system and as a living religion, it serves other religious people including folk Christians.

At stage two, the author identifies the phenomenon of "dual allegiance" of Korean syncretistic folk Christians in terms of dual religious system described by Robert Schreiter. He finds that whenever they meet daily problems such as family problem, business failure, marriage, college exam, and illness, the syncretistic folk Christians just visit shamans and trust in the shaman's religious experiences and power to achieve their stated needs.

At stage three, the author traces some solutions to it such as an educational approach of biblical instruction and transforming the shamanistic worldview, which was not sufficient to prevent syncretistic folk Christians from going to shamans. So, he recognizes that syncretistic folk Christians need some practical, indigenous Christian patterns to follow which are familiar to them. Thus, he suggests with the aids of Darrell Whiteman's and Don Richardson's analyses of culture and religion and Wesley's theology of grace that Korean Christian churches encourage them to use Korean Christian indigenous patterns such as emphasizing messages regarding "restoration" and "blessings," worshipping God through offering time and materials, belief in empowerment of pastors, participatory prayers at sacred time and place, and close relationship between pastors and believers.

Therefore, the author suggests in this dissertation that Korean Christian churches may use and strengthen Korean Christian indigenous patterns to solve the problem of "dual allegiance" of syncretistic folk Christians and to respond to the challenge of contemporary Korean Shamanism today.

DISSERTATION APPROVAL SHEET

This dissertation, entitled

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TO THE CHALLENGE OF CONTEMPORARY KOREAN SHAMANISM

WITHIN THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES OF KOREA

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Chapter 1

Overview of the Study

Introduction

During the 1990s, the Korean society experienced many changes. In the economic arena, by 1996 Korea had become one of the "rich countries," becoming a member of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).¹ The Korean people celebrated this because the Korean economy had grown in less than 50 years into one of the world's great economic powers after being flattened by the Korean war. In November 1997, however, Korea experienced economic hardships with a series of bankruptcies and high unemployment due to the Korean credit crisis and desperately needed the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to overcome the capital market crisis (Bartholet 1998:4).

In the political arena, the period of the military regime (1961-1992) ended with a new civilian government led by Young-Sam Kim who was elected by a democratic vote. Two former presidents, Doo-Whan Chun and Tae-Woo Roh, the leaders of two military regimes (1980-1986 and 1987-1992), were arrested in 1995 and charged with leading a military rebellion and corruption. In December 1997, Dae-Jung Kim, who was known as "a fighter for democratic justice and a competent economist who has consistently espoused capital market theory," was elected as the new president of Korea (Sang-Woo Kim 1998:11).

At present, Koreans are proud of their political success but worried about future economic unrest.

In the social arena, Koreans had many tragedies during the 1990s. One of the greatest tragedies was the *Sampoong* disaster in 1995. *Sampoong* is a six story department store that completely collapsed and killed over 500 people. The Great *Sungsoo* bridge also collapsed in 1995. These incidents created a tremendous shock to Korean society.²

In the period of economic and political changes, the people sought protection and spiritual power from the unpredictable incidents and disasters in their society. Many Koreans formed a new regard for contemporary Korean Shamanism; it was believed to have the power of predicting the future and securing the present. According to a report from Hindol (White Rock) Mission Society led by Rev. Kwangbok Lee, a researcher on Korean contemporary culture, who interviewed 1,000 Korean people by phone regarding "the rate of reliance on beliefs and practices of Shamanism among Koreans" during January 1997, 67.6% of interviewees consulted shamans in the times of transition such as marriage, national college exam, political election, and family affairs. And it was reported that 59.7% of them relied on shamans' predictions or oracles (Minzok Bokumwha Sinmun [National Evangelization News] 22 February 1997). According to Dong-Whee Lee, President of the Paul Mission Society and a prominent leader in the movement

against Shamanism, it was confirmed that 70% of his interviewees, 280 people among 400 people, kept shamanistic charms (Kukmin Ilbo [Korean Daily News] 11 January 1997).

In the public area, several Kut rituals for the town's security were held in Hanam Dong, Suhbingo Dong, Dongbingo Dong, and Changchun Dong in Seoul (Kukmin Ilbo [Korean Daily News] 7 February 1997). Right after the *Sampoong* disaster, the Department of Culture and Athletics of the Korean government encouraged 400 shamans to hold a shamanistic ritual, "*Kuktae Minanje*" (a Kut Ritual for the Nation's Peace and People's Security), in the Yoido Square in October 1995. A mayor of the city of Boryeong in Choonganm Province encouraged his people to hold "*Kiwooje*" (a shamanistic community ritual for bringing rain) with the assistance of the public service personnel in 1995. The Korean society responded to the contemporary shamanistic message and members of Korean Shaman Association increased from 39,000 shamans in 1982 to 151,000 shamans in 1992. In 1996, the number of shamans was estimated to be upwards of 400,000 (Donga Ilbo [East Asia Daily News] 4 January 1997). According to Theodore Hard, a missionary to Korea for thirty-five years, "more and more shamans and fortune-tellers" are invading Korean society (1989:45).

Unlike the shamanistic beliefs and practices which have been flourishing in Korean society, the growth of the

Christian churches stagnated in the 1990s. During the 1980s, the leaders of Korean churches boasted to the world that their number was over 8 million Christians.³ They anticipated that Korean churches might have 20 million Christians by the year 2000 (Won-Sul Lee 1986:181). However, according to the 1994 government statistics, Protestant church growth in Korea decreased 0.4% from 18.6% in 1991 to 18.2% in 1994 (Yun 1995:307). The recent 1995 Korean government statistics reported that Protestant Christians were still 8,819,000 (Joongang Korean Daily News 12 September 1996).⁴

Presently, the Korean Protestant churches are challenged to respond to the phenomena related to contemporary Korean Shamanism which gives the people a feeling of protection and spiritual power. Many syncretistic folk Christians⁵ go to shamans for divinations and to meet their spiritual needs during times of crisis like a family member's illness and accidents. According to a research from an authentic Christian journal Bit gwa Sogeu (Salt and Light) regarding Christian consciousness on Shamanism, 77% of interviewees who were Christians, experienced the beliefs and practices of contemporary Korean Shamanism (Park 1995:81). In my field research, about 50% of interviewees experienced shamanistic beliefs and practices (Noh 1997a:32-46; 1997b:5-10). It was revealed that even Christians are vulnerable to the challenge of Shamanism. In times of crisis, they obtain little

satisfaction for their needs from the answers provided by "high Christianity"⁶ in Korean churches. They need immediate and direct answers from spiritual beings.

For instance, right after the death of Il-Sung Kim, the dictator of North Korea, the South Korean society had their attention drawn to Jin-Song Shim, a Korean woman shaman, who had predicted the exact day of his death. A serious journal like Weolgan Chosun (Korea Monthly), in relating her life story and her ability to predict as a shaman, validated her religious practice (May 1994). What struck the writer is the fact that she was born and raised in a devout Christian family. According to her words, many Christians came to her regularly for divination or fortunetelling (Shim 1995:178). In fact, many syncretistic folk Christians, in the terms described by Charles Kraft, ride "two horses,"⁷ that is the "horse" of allegiance to Jesus and the "horse" of a continued dependence on the power of shamanistic spirits to fill in "gaps not provided for by Western Christianity" (Kraft 1993:1). In my project, I will deal with this religious phenomenon sometimes described as the "dual allegiance"⁸ of Korean syncretistic folk Christians.

There have been two kinds of reactions seen within Christianity in Korea that have tried to overcome the "dual allegiance." First, some pastors and church leaders developed a ministry style and programs that would be "functional

substitutes"⁹ to meet the spiritual and psychological needs of folk Christians. It was a positive approach to folk Christians.¹⁰ These leaders encouraged their people not to go to shamans but to attend various prayer meetings at prayer mountain centers and revival meetings and even created these contexts for unsolved problems such as barrenness, sickness, failure in business, drought, and entering colleges.

James Grayson, anthropologist and a United Methodist missionary to Korea for sixteen years, evaluated positively these programs such as revival meetings (*Puheunghoi*) and prayer meetings at prayer mountain centers (*Kidowon Kidohoi*). In a recent article, "Elements of Protestant Accommodation to Korean Religious Culture: A Personal Ethnographic Perspective," he says these represent "a very profound degree of accommodation by Protestant Christianity to the culture of Korea" (Grayson 1995:52-55). Within these revival meetings and prayer meetings as "functional substitutes," there exist "the Korean Christian indigenous patterns."¹¹

However, some theologians and church leaders in Korea have complained that these indigenous patterns stimulated "faith in God for the material blessing" (*Kibok Sinang*). This was the second reaction. In terms of Robert Schreiter (1985), what occurred was an elitist approach which tried to "enlighten the darkness" of this folk religion. Church and

theological elites regarded education as leading folk Christians out of "the darkness" of contemporary Shamanism (1985:131-132). Some Korean theological elitists emphasized that churches should teach syncretistic folk Christians not to follow "superstition" but to change their traditional worldview into the biblical worldview. For them, seeking material blessing and praying for everyday needs of folk Christians were regarded as "selfish" and "childish," belonging to the traditional worldview. Instead of satisfying the need of folk Christians, they suppressed it and emphasized Christian ethical values. Furthermore, Korean Christian indigenous patterns used as functional substitutes were declared to be shamanistic by theologians and intellectuals who were educated in the West (Suh 1986:32-35; Son 1983:338-339; Yoo 1986:70-74). The accusation of being shamanistic discouraged folk Christians who normally used such functional substitutes rather than contemporary Korean Shamanism, causing folk Christians who did not get answers from the churches to get help from shamans. The elitist approach could not change folk Christians even though these theologians and intellectuals helped set an ideal for Christian commitment and service.

This study will not attempt to follow again the elitist approach in dealing with folk Christianity in Korea. Rather, it will pursue an investigation of the solution first

described to the problem of "dual allegiance"; that is, to acknowledge and assess the Korean Christian indigenous patterns. By evaluating and strengthening these indigenous patterns of Korean Christians, Christian churches will help folk Christians give allegiance to Jesus Christ only.

From a missiological perspective, Korean Christian churches should encourage folk Christians not to go to shamans but to use the functional substitutes in response to the phenomena of contemporary Korean Shamanism. To encourage them to use those functional substitutes, first of all, Korean churches need criteria with which they may determine if these means are shamanistic and syncretistic. In this study, I will suggest criteria in terms of indigenization by which their practices may be demonstrated as not syncretistic but indigenous. I also will develop ways of strengthening their Christian indigenous patterns which may lead people out of the need for "dual allegiance" into a powerful biblical Christianity.¹²

I believe the purpose of Christian mission is not only to bring people into the Kingdom of God by proclaiming the gospel but also not to lose them to other religions like contemporary Korean Shamanism. Unless the Protestant churches in Korea provide folk Christians with powerful and Bible-based functional substitutes for the practices of contemporary

Korean Shamanism, the churches will not respond successfully to the challenge of contemporary Korean Shamanism.

Statement of the Problem

This study will research and describe the distinctive beliefs and practices of contemporary Korean Shamanism in order to inform the Christian churches in Korea of their own Korean religious heritage and to evaluate and strengthen the indigenous religious patterns of Korean folk Christians by which they can respond successfully to the challenge of contemporary Shamanism among Korean folk Christian populations today.

The problem of this project will be divided into three subproblems which need data and a theoretical framework in order to be solved.

Statement of the Subproblems

and Methods by Which These Will Be Investigated

The subproblems and methods by which these will be investigated are as follows:

1. The first subproblem is to understand the distinctive beliefs and practices of contemporary Korean Shamanism. This will be done with a help of Friedrich Heiler's phenomenological approach to Religious Studies in order to inform the Christian churches in Korea of their own Korean religious heritage.

2. The second subproblem is to investigate the phenomenon of "dual allegiance" of Korean folk Christians. This will be done with the aid of Robert Schreiter's (1985) analysis of dual religious systems.

3. The third subproblem is to evaluate and propose ways to strengthen the indigenous religious patterns of the Christian churches in Korea. John Wesley's theology of grace, Don Richardson's comparative analogy of religious content, and Darrell Whiteman's analysis of indigenization will be used.

Solving these subproblems will help Christian churches in Korea respond successfully to the challenge of contemporary Shamanism among Korean folk Christian populations today.

Data Needed

1. In order to answer the first subproblem, "to understand the distinctive beliefs and practices of contemporary Korean Shamanism," I need to know: "What are the most distinctive features of contemporary Korean Shamanism?"

2. Regarding the second subproblem, "to investigate the phenomenon of "dual allegiance" of Korean folk Christians," I need to know: "How and why are Korean folk Christians attracted to going back to shamans, even after they have become Christians?"

3. In order to solve the third subproblem "to evaluate and strengthen the indigenous religious patterns of the Christian churches in Korea," I need data as follows:

- 1) What are the indigenous religious patterns of the Christian churches in Korea?
- 2) Does use of these indigenous religious patterns result in the folk Christians not needing to find spiritual help elsewhere?
- 3) How do Korean churches evaluate and strengthen these indigenous patterns?

Data Collection and Research Methodology

Data was collected using three methods: library research, interviewing, and participant observation.

Library Research

From May 1995 to December 1997, I collected data regarding contemporary Korean Shamanism, securing more than sixty books, dissertations, and journal articles in Korean language with the help of a librarian of Sungkyul Christian University in Korea. During that time, I gathered additional materials such as tapes and compact disks about the practices of Korean Shamanism. The B. L. Fisher Library of Asbury Theological Seminary in Wilmore, Kentucky helped me to find more than fifty books and articles in English and German regarding Shamanism and Korean Shamanism.

During the second week of November 1996, I went to the McAlister Library of Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena, California in order to conduct additional library research. I

found that more than half of about 45 dissertations written by Koreans have to do with Korean Shamanism.

During the third and fourth weeks of November 1996, I finally found the key data in Seoul, Korea regarding contemporary Korean Shamanism. These are in the 6-volume set of books written by Jung-Bum Suh, Professor of Korean Studies at Kyunghee University in Seoul, who collected data regarding Korean Shamanism for about 40 years (1955-1996). He observed firsthand shamanistic practices and rituals and interviewed about 3,000 shamans and published the series, Munyeu Byulkok (The Story of Korean Women Shamans) I-VI (1996). His books are collections of stories and cases of Korean shamans regarding their initiation processes, their life stories, their spiritual power and practices, and their relationship with their spirit lords. Although Suh does not analyze his data by placing it into religious categories, his observations and interviews provide me with many insights regarding contemporary Korean Shamanism. Through the analysis of his books with the established categories as described by Friedrich Heiler, I developed a knowledge base regarding the religious structure and patterns of contemporary Korean Shamanism including deities, shamans, as well as believers and their religious beliefs and practices including the heavenly kingdoms and hells, souls, spirits, divine healing, prophecy, trance, exorcism, colors, numbers, animals, flowers, etc.

During the last week of December 1997, I located the recent book Hankuk ei Myungmu (The Famous Shamans in Korea) published by the Korean National Society which introduced 31 famous Korean shamans, their initiation processes, and their religious practices. It is a remarkable change for contemporary Korean Shamanism to be publicly discussed. Korean shamans used to be secretive and would not openly talk about their religious beliefs and practices, but this is not the case currently.

These books, dissertations, and articles present useful data by which I can understand contemporary Korean Shamanism.

Interviewing

In order to learn why folk Christians go to shamans and how they view the indigenous religious patterns of Korean Christianity, I interviewed Korean shamans, pastors or leaders, and folk Christians. The interview schedules appear in Appendix 1. The following groups were interviewed in and around Seoul, Korea from April to November 1997:

- (1) 37 shamans
- (2) 13 pastors or leaders
- (3) 73 lay Christians.

Group 1, the 37 shamans, were limited to those who live in and around Seoul. When I interviewed them, I used the questions that appear in Appendix 1.1 and recorded their replies in my field notes. From May 22nd to 24th in 1997, I

visited the village of Miary, a well known place for shamanic practices in Seoul. I interviewed 10 shamans from among about 70 shamans who practice divination in that area. From June 2nd to 9th, I visited 7 shamanic places of Shiheung Dong, Dogsan Dong, Sinrim Dong, Bongchon Dong, Norangin Dong, Haengchon Dong, and Hongje Dong in Seoul. I had opportunity to interview 7 shamans there.

It was not easy to get a chance to interview shamans because most shamans did not want to tell a stranger like me details of their religious and private lives. When I had short conversations with them in order to get their permission for interviews, they did not allow interviewing. Usually having visited about 10 or 15 shamanic places, I could interview just one or two shamans. During these interviews, they were very suspicious of me and did not trust me. Then, when I brought some apples and oranges to them, they were open-minded to me. Interviewing them, I noted their answers to my questions. I could not use a method of tape recording as I had intended. Tape recording was not allowed because it made the shamans uneasy during the interview process. From November 11th to November 18th, for further interviewing of shamans, I sent the 88 students who took my course "Comparative Religion" as well as the lecture of Dr. Eunice Irwin who was a guest speaking on "Method of Phenomenology of Religion" at Sungkyul Christian University. Following the

instructions to use my interview protocols, the students met with 20 shamans from around Seoul, took notes, and made two or three page reports regarding the religious beliefs and practices of the contemporary shamans.

Group 2 of interviewees, consisting of 13 pastors or leaders, was limited to those who had knowledge of or experience with Korean Shamanism, chosen by using the method of purposive sampling (Fink and Kosecoff 1985:59).¹³ In seeking a group of pastors and leaders who had knowledge of or experience with Korean Shamanism, I located a conference where pastors or leaders met with the aim of contacting and converting shamans to Christianity. This was a new group to most Protestant Christians. On April 21st and 22nd in 1997, I was invited to participate in this conference. It was held in Hoejeong Church of Euijungboo City near Seoul. About 200 pastors and leaders, belonging to different denominations such as Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist churches, came from all areas of Korea. All were interested in evangelizing contemporary Korean shamans. During the conference, I interviewed 12 pastors and one journalist using my interview questions that appear in Appendix 1.2.

Group 3 was selected through random calling by using the Seoul Phone Address Book, Vol. 2 : Kangsuh-Ku, Yangcheon-Ku, Yeongdeungpo-Ku in Seoul, published on February 21st, 1996 by Korea Communication Center in Seoul. I called every first

name that is on each page of the phone book from April 28th to May 1st and from November 4th to 7th in 1997. When I called them, I introduced myself as a doctoral student from Asbury Theological Seminary and asked if they were willing to be interviewed by phone regarding visits to contemporary Korean shamans. Since my research was regarding "dual allegiance" of syncretistic folk Christians, I first asked them whether they were Protestant Christians or not. With the aid of purposive sampling, I interviewed only Christians who had Christian friends or Christian neighbors visiting shamans, as well as those who had personal contact with contemporary Korean Shamanism. Among 541 names, each name found as the first listed on each page of the phone book, 468 names fell into the following categories that were not accessible. These exclusions were: being out of town (135 people), their moving or wrong numbers (88 people), being of other religions (137 people), and having rejected my interview request (108 people). However, I did reach 73 names who were Protestant Christians. Among these 73, 37 people did not want to be interviewed, telling me that they did not have any knowledge of and experience with Korean Shamanism. Only 36 people allowed me to do a phone interview regarding Korean Shamanism and Christianity. I had intended to do personal interviews with them, but this was difficult for religious and cultural reasons. Ordinary Korean people have a cultural difficulty in

meeting and talking with somebody they do not know face to face, and Korean Christians are ashamed of visiting shamans because of the church's prohibition against such behavior. Thus, my interviewees were not comfortable with personal interviews and would only allow me to interview them if it was done by phone.

In the process of interviewing, I chose people who had knowledge of or experience with contemporary Korean Shamanism by using the method of purposive sampling. Since my project has the purpose of verifying and solving the problem of "dual allegiance" of Korean folk Christians, purposive sampling is helpful to handpick those who have experience with or knowledge of "dual allegiance."

Participant Observation

In ten months of field research trips within Korea, from March to December 1997, I saw the shamanistic rituals and observed the following practices of shamans: three *Kut* rituals at Samkak, Namsan, and Kwanak mountains in Seoul.

In a phone conversation to the Association of Korean Shamans in Korea, I received an invitation to observe a *Kut* ritual for the public held on April 19th at Namsan mountain in Seoul. This *Kut* was a shamanistic ritual, "*Tongil Giwon Daeje*" (a Great *Kut* Ritual for Reunification of Korea), in the Namsan Field Square. It took 6 hours, from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m.

I observed several shamanistic practices and a private *Kut* ritual at Samkak mountain in Seoul on May 15th. I also observed three places that are like temples for shamanistic practices and rituals: Sansindang (the house of the mountain god), Chunsindang (the house of heavenly god), Chunjedang (the house of heavenly king). I observed a semi-shamanistic ritual, "*Hanwoomulje*," a village public ritual for people's security from evil, which is mixed up with Confucianism, at Kwanak mountain in Seoul on June 9th.

I also observed the practices of Christian churches in order to see the indigenous religious patterns in Korean Christianity that demonstrate some connection in form with contemporary Korean Shamanism. I witnessed forms and practices that also commonly occur in shamanistic services like dancing, enthusiastic prayer, offering, and the idea of reconciliation or restoration.

I collected data by taking notes during my participation in revival meetings (*Puheunghoi*) and prayer meetings at prayer mountain centers (*Kidowon Kidohoi*). The following churches and prayer mountain centers were selected:¹⁴

1. Prayer meetings:

"Friday Night Prayer Meeting" at Taewhasan Prayer Mountain Center, an ordinary prayer mountain center near Seoul, on May 2nd from 10:00 to 12:00 p.m.

"The Great Prayer Meeting for Receiving the Holy

"Spirit" at Osanri Prayer Mountain Center, the largest prayer mountain center near Seoul in Korea, on May 6th from 11:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m.

"Spring Prayer Meeting for Revival" at Haneolsan Prayer Mountain Center, the oldest prayer mountain center near Seoul in Korea, on May 19th from 7:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m.

2. Revival meetings:

"Spring Revival Meeting" at Keumran Methodist Church, the largest Methodist congregation in Korea (pastored by Hongdo Kim), from May 4th through May 8th from 7:30 p.m. to 9:30 p.m.

"Spring Revival Meeting" at Juan Presbyterian Church, the largest Presbyterian congregation in Korea (pastored by Kumil Nah), on May 27th, 7:30 p.m.; from May 28th to May 30th, at 5:00 a.m. 10:30 a.m. and 7:30 p.m., and on May 31st, at 5:00 a.m.

"Annual Revival Meeting" at Yoido Full Gospel Church, the largest church of the Assembly of God in Korea (pastored by Yonggi Cho), from August 13th through August 15th at 7:30 p.m.

Theoretical Framework to Interpret Data

In my project, the data will be interpreted through three stages: Stage I--Understanding of contemporary Korean Shamanism, Stage II--Understanding of "dual allegiance" of

Korean syncretistic folk Christians, and Stage III--Ways of evaluating and strengthening the Korean Christians indigenous patterns. In other words, before consulting the problem of "dual allegiance" of Korean syncretistic folk Christians, I first need to know the reality of contemporary Korean Shamanism by means of the method of phenomenology of religion and then I will be able to seek for the solution with which I can help Korean Christian churches and syncretistic folk Christians to overcome "dual allegiance" with the aid of anthropological and theological insights. A summary form of my "Theoretical Framework" is given in Appendix 2.

Stage I: Understanding of Contemporary Korean Shamanism: An Approach of the Phenomenology of Religion

An impartial basis by which to understand contemporary Korean Shamanism as a religion is very crucial in order to construct an appropriate Christian response to it. Objectivity¹⁵ in understanding is increased through focus upon description, which in turn can produce greater discernment and success in responding. Therefore, a good choice is to use the phenomenological approach to Religious Studies for understanding contemporary Korean Shamanism without prejudice or judgment.¹⁶ Theological and biblical evaluations will be made after the process of understanding.

Historically, the science of phenomenology was developed by Edmund Husserl and adapted to Religious Studies by Gerardus

van der Leeuw (Paden 1994:1-5). Phenomenology of religion determines what is real or not in certain religious phenomena through the ideal of "epoche" (bracketing) or suspension of the subjectivity of the interpreter. Since it is not a philosophy or a theology, there is no judgment of values and beliefs on such religious phenomena. Phenomenology of religion provides us with the inner structure and meaning of the religious phenomena or essence of religions (Kristensen 1960:1-3).

In my project, I examined the data from the religious phenomena of contemporary Korean Shamanism. These I learned both from my direct interviews and participant observation in my field research and from the 6-volume set of books Munyeu Byulkok (The Story of Korean Women Shamans) I-VI (1996) written by Jung-Bum Suh, Professor of Korean Studies at Kyunghee University in Seoul. To the data I applied the established categories in phenomenology of religion as described by Friedrich Heiler (1961). Heiler sets out three major categories of phenomena as follows:

1. First, the world of religious phenomena such as sacred objects, sacred artifacts, sacred space, sacred time, sacred action, sacred word, sacred writings, sacred person, and sacred community;

2. Second, the world of religious concepts including ideas about deity, evil spirits and demons, reconciliation, and eternal life;

3. Third, the world of religious experience both in its basic forms like awe, fear, peace, meaningfulness and supranormal forms like visions, auditions, and ecstasy (1961:v-xiii).

Therefore, analysis of phenomenological categories from Heiler on religious phenomena in Korean Shamanism helps us understand it in descriptive terms before applying theological and biblical evaluations. This process helps Korean Christian leaders and believers see the religious dynamic within contemporary Korean Shamanism. This, in turn, enables them to recognize and respond to the spiritual challenge.

Stage II: Understanding of Dual Allegiance of Korean

Syncretistic Folk Christians

After understanding the distinctive beliefs and practices of contemporary Korean Shamanism that continually challenge Korean Christians, I identified and described the phenomenon of "dual allegiance" among Korean syncretistic folk Christians. This was stated in terms of dual religious systems, given by Robert Schreiter in his book Constructing Local Theologies, especially in his last chapter "Syncretism and Dual Religious Systems" (1985:144-158).

According to Schreiter, there are three kinds of dual religious systems [multiple religious beliefs and practices] (1985:148-149). The first is that in which Christianity and another tradition function independently of each other. For example, among the Aymara in Peru and Bolivia, Christianity and the old Aymaran religion are practiced side by side. People follow both sets of rituals and deities (1985:148). A second kind of dual system is Christianity that is practiced in its integrity, and selected elements from another system are also practiced. People pray not only to the Christian deity but also to a local spirit or deity. In times of distress, this dual practice becomes especially evident. A third kind of dual system is called "double belonging" that is belonging both to a particular religion and a nation. In the case of Thailand, Buddhism and citizenship are bound up, like the term "Jewish" connotes people who identify with an ethnic group and follow the religion of Judaism. It is difficult to answer the question of whether one can be Jewish and Christian at the same time.

Among Schreiter's categories, the second kind of dual system best fits the phenomenon of Korean syncretistic folk Christians. Many Korean syncretistic folk Christians go to shamans for divinations and for their spiritual needs during the transitional times of crisis like a family member's

illness and other incidents. But their basic beliefs and pattern of life are Christian.

Then, regarding this specific kind of dual system, Schreiter has described two kinds of Christian reactions to overcome it. The first reaction is a pastoral approach to folk Christians in which church leaders develop functional substitutes to meet the need of folk Christians. The second reaction is an elitist approach in which leaders try to teach folk Christians social aspects of Christianity in order to "enlighten the darkness" of a folk religion (Schreiter 1985:130-132). The problem of "dual allegiance" remains in the second case because the need of folk Christians merely is suppressed although the elitist approach regards education as the key to the dissolution of the folk dynamic among Christians.

Therefore, this study could go beyond the elitist approach, but use the pastoral approach to folk Christian "dual allegiance" where functional substitutes are found. This is discussed in the following stage.

Stage III: Ways of Evaluating and Strengthening the Korean Christian Indigenous Patterns: A Missiological Approach

Through the phenomenological approach, the writer was able to understand the reality and strength of contemporary Korean Shamanism. The writer then identified the influences

that attract many folk Christians to the practices of contemporary Shamanism, and described the challenge of "dual allegiance" in terms of folk religion and dual religious systems. It is hoped that Korean Christian pastors and leaders be introduced to new ways to respond to these, and not feel limited to the existing categories of simple analysis: human-made superstition, magic, or servitude to the Devil in their judgment of contemporary Korean Shamanism. The goal is that they may come to understand why its power and reality are attractive to syncretistic folk Christians. Finally, after understanding Korean Shamanism and the problem of "dual allegiance" of Korean syncretistic folk Christians, we need to evaluate and strengthen the Korean Christian indigenous patterns biblically and theologically in order to resolve the theological and missiological issue of "dual allegiance."

Evaluating Korean Christian Indigenous Patterns

The indigenous religious patterns of the Christian churches in Korea were evaluated by using the insights from John Wesley's concept of "means of grace" and Darrell Whiteman's concept of "conversion" and "indigenization."

John Wesley's Concept of "Means of Grace." I used John Wesley's concept of "means of grace" that could synthesize the biblical truth of God's grace and human responsibility (Wesley 1872d:185ff). John Wesley emphasized the importance of "means of grace" such as prayer, Bible study, fasting, Lord's Supper,

worship, baptism, and Christian conference such as community, conversation, mutual encouragement or rebuke. With the use of the means of grace, believers can participate in God's work and grace (Wesley 1872d:199). In this way, I evaluated the capacity of Korean Christian indigenous patterns to be the means of grace in terms of Wesley's concept. Wesley's concept of "means of grace" would broaden the way Korean Christian churches view Korean Christian indigenous patterns.

Darrell Whiteman's Concept of Conversion and Indigenization. I evaluated the indigenous religious patterns of the Christian churches in Korea by using Darrell Whiteman's concept of conversion and indigenization. According to Whiteman, "conversion is not a change from non-faith to faith; instead, it is a shift from one faith to another, from allegiance to ancestral spirits to allegiance to Jesus Christ" (1983:371). I believe that this concept of conversion can be crucial to evaluate when and how the Korean Christian indigenous patterns should be used to give allegiance to Jesus Christ.

The concept of indigenization is also important to the evaluation of Korean Christian indigenous patterns. According to Whiteman, "indigenization is a cultural process in which indigenes attempt to take something borrowed from outside their culture and make it their own" (1983:412). He explains it in terms of form and meaning. He says, "indigenous

Christianity... [involves] employing traditional forms to express the new meaning found in Christianity" (1983:417). It means that Korean Christians do not automatically need to change their traditional forms in order to believe in Jesus Christ. The Christian messages can become incarnate in Korean traditional culture and situations.

In this way, by using Whiteman's concepts of conversion and indigenization, it can be verified that these religious patterns of Korean churches are not necessarily syncretistic but may in fact be indigenous. I believe that it is syncretistic only if Korean Christians remain confused and also continue to rely on shamanistic spirits and to visit shamans for divination, magic, and healing.

I believe it is possible for Christian churches to avoid accusing Korean indigenous patterns of being syncretistic because it is not the indigenous patterns that are syncretistic but Korean Christian attitudes toward these patterns. But rather, it is possible to encourage folk Christians to retain their indigenous patterns within their Christian experience.

Strengthening Korean Christian's Indigenous Patterns

The indigenous religious patterns of the Christian churches in Korea will be strengthened by using the insights from the approach of phenomenology of religion to understand

contemporary Korean Shamanism along with the theological and biblical methods to discern its meaning.

The Wesleyan Theology of Prevenient Grace. I used the Wesleyan theology of prevenient grace (Williams 1960:45-46) in order to broaden the way Korean Christian churches view contemporary Shamanism and those who are influenced by it. The Wesleyan understanding of prevenient grace--God's grace is equally and universally bestowed upon Koreans--may open their minds to learn something from contemporary shamanistic religious patterns. They may adapt and transform them in order to strengthen the existing indigenous Christian religious patterns.

Don Richardson's Analysis: A Biblical Discernment. After applying the Wesleyan understanding of prevenient grace, the meaning of the shamanistic beliefs and practices should be discerned. Comparative study of Korean Shamanism along with study of the religious pattern of biblical Christianity should be done through use of the Bible. Evangelicals place Scripture as the final authority in functional control of cultures and religions (Hesselgrave 1989:179; Dyrness 1990:17-19). However, evangelicals should not prejudge cultures and religions without phenomenological evidence. In this way, we can avoid both a romantic view of culture and religion as well as a negative view. We have to recognize that culture is a product of human beings created in God's image and that

religion has real reference to the transcendent, but both are still tainted with sin because of the fallen state of human beings. By this, we acknowledge that there are some positive aspects of culture and religion, and some negative aspects of them. Therefore the process is called "critical contextualization" by Paul Hiebert (1987), which includes exegesis of the culture and religion, exegesis of the Scripture, and finally people's critical response to their own past customs in the light of their new biblical understanding, is needed (1987:109-110). Hiebert's approach is similar to the analysis of Don Richardson regarding culture and religion.

Regarding culture and religion, Richardson uses the terms "the Abraham factor," "the Melchizedek factor," and "the Sodom factor" (1981:32-33). The Abraham factor indicates God's special revelation in the Bible, and the Melchizedek factor refers to God's general revelation in human consciousness and nature. The Sodom factor indicates sinful aspects of culture and religion that emerge from the magical attitude of human beings toward God. Using these terms, the writer will discern or evaluate the beliefs and practices of contemporary Korean Shamanism.

When we discern the beliefs and practices of Korean Shamanism, we have to distinguish some good aspects, the "Melchizedek factors" of Shamanism, that should be encouraged to remain, and some "Sodom factors" of culture that should

be excluded on the basis of the "Abrahamic factor," that is: God's self revelation in the Bible.

In sum, the problem of "dual allegiance" of Korean folk Christians will be solved with the process of understanding the religious phenomena of contemporary Korean Shamanism and folk Christianity and then by evaluating and strengthening Korean Christian indigenous patterns. The whole process of my project is summarized in the following figure (See also Appendix 5):

Subproblems	Data Needed & Methodology for Data Collection	Theoretical Framework
Distinctives of Contemporary Korean Shamanism	1) Interviews 2) Participant Observation 3) Suh's works	1) Heiler's Categories of Phenomenology of Religion
Phenomenon of Dual Allegiance	4) Interviews	2) Schreiter's Dual Religious Systems
Evaluation & Strengthening of Korean Christian Indigenous Patterns	5) Interviews 6) Participant Observation	3) Wesley's Concept of "Means of Grace" 4) Whiteman's Concept of "Conversion" & "Indigenization" 5) Wesley's Theology of "Prevenient Grace" 6) Richardson's Model of the "Abrahamic factor," "Melchizedek factors," & "Sodomie factors."

Figure 1. The Whole Process of the Project

Previous Studies of this Topic

Many missiological dissertations have dealt with the challenge of Korean Shamanism, but they have started and concluded on the basis of their own interpretations of it without using the approach of phenomenology of religion.

For instance, Yohan Lee's *The Analysis of the Christian Prayer Mountain Phenomenon in Korea* (1985) tries to answer the question, "Why do Korean Christians go to the mountain to pray?" The strength of this project is that he traces contemporary realities of Christian prayer mountains comparing these with Korean Shamanism and finds some-relationship between Korean church growth and prayer mountains. He, however, sees Korean Shamanism negatively as magic on the basis of an aspect of controlling spirits in Shamanism, and he asserts that several magical implications of Christian prayer in mountains should be deleted. This conclusion may discourage many Christians who usually go to mountains for prayer, because they may be suspected of being shamanistic with reference to seeking spirit power.

Se-Hee Han's dissertation, *Healing in the Korean Worldview: Its Influences upon the Korean Christian Churches* (1991), deals with the shamanistic influence upon the belief and practice of healing in the Christian ministry. This project provides Korean churches with the biblical understanding of healing, but evaluates negatively the

shamanistic influence upon the Christian healing ministry. It concludes too quickly that the reason why Korean Christians are not willing to make "any ethical decisions regarding their lives" after they get healed, must be connected with the fact that they are influenced by Shamanism that has "little concern for social justice" and is focused only on the material success of individuals (1991:180-181). I do not agree with him because contemporary Korean Shamanism is not a primitive religion with a simple magic or techniques but has ethical values and sense of community (Cho 1994:11-19). Therefore, his conclusion may not encourage Korean Christians, who are sick or whose family members are sick, to go to the church for healing, because they may be suspected of being shamanistic.

Moses Lee (1994) tries to contextualize critically the shamanistic concept of *Bok* (blessing) into the context of Korea with the biblical concept of blessing. He finds in his dissertation, *Transforming the Korean Church: The Conceptual Transformation of Shamanistic Bok to the Biblical Concept of Blessing*, that Korean Shamanism causes syncretism in Christianity with regard to *Bok* (blessing). Then he suggests that Christian leaders must examine and confront Korean Shamanism with the biblical concept of blessing. It should be not only for individual believers but also for the Kingdom of God. His work, however, has a weakness; it is based on the false assumption that shamanistic *Bok* (blessing) includes only

material blessing. He does not recognize that there is no dichotomy between material blessing and spiritual blessing among folk Christians. His conclusion may discourage Korean folk Christians, who do need material blessing and do need to pray for that, because prayer for blessing actually done for spiritual and material blessing together seems to be judged unilaterally as shamanistic. Folk Christians need God's care and answers to their prayer for every day needs.

Hee-Keun Jin's missiological dissertation, *Preaching in the Korean Presbyterian Church with Insights from a Shamanistic Worldview*, has a more open attitude on understanding Korean Shamanism. He regarded Shamanism as "an aspect of God's general grace" and tried to learn from Korean Shamanism (1996:279). In fact, he did not exaggerate its negative characteristics. He, however, did not examine Korean Shamanism using the methods of phenomenology of religion.

Four interpretations of indigenous religion are traced in the writings of Charles Clark (1961) and Dong-Shik Ryu (1965). Ryu pointed out the following negative characteristics of Korean Shamanism: (1) a tendency toward dependence on spirits based on fatalism, (2) conservative attitudes without progressivism, (3) a short-sighted attitude ignoring the future, and (4) a tendency to enjoy life (Ryu 1965:33-39, 193-194). The above-mentioned dissertations uncritically cited Ryu's one-generation-old assumption regarding Korean Shamanism

that it was based on such Western values as a frontier spirit, progressivism, and self-help prevailing in 19th century America. It was in the 60s that Ryu wrote the book Hankuk Jongkyo wa Kidokyo (Korean Religions and Christianity in Korea) with the support of the government. It is interesting that it was published during the 60s when the government persecuted severely Korean Shamanism on the basis of progressivism and ignorance of traditional values.

In fact, if one would attempt to see Korean Shamanism from the perspective of progressivism, it does not demonstrate any progressive ideas about the future or history. On the contrary, Shamanism might even be seen as fatalism, lacking concern for individual responsibility in the events and lives within society. Korean Shamanism, however, should not be evaluated and judged by Western values but by its own principle of structure and reality. For example, from the 19th century Western view that was concerned very much with spiritualism, Korean Shamanism might be accused of being dependent on spirits. However, when it is evaluated in terms of "harmony," a major principle of Korean Shamanism, it reveals something of significant value to post-modern society, namely "interconnectedness" among spirits, nature, and human beings.

The foregoing missiological studies on Korean Shamanism share the following tendencies:

First, they do not see Korean Shamanism as a contemporary religion. For them, Korean Shamanism is just a primitive religion with a simple magic or techniques and without an ethical value and sense of community. In contrast, this project will see Korean Shamanism as a contemporary religion that has contemporary religious structures such as myth, rituals, gods, believers, ethical values, sense of community, and religious specialists, although we recognize that folk people may not engage fully in all dimensions of Shamanism (Cho 1994:11-19).

Second, all four dissertations regard Korean Shamanism as inferior to Christianity on the basis of criteria unique to Christianity as their authors know it. Of course, Christianity would be superior in terms of church buildings, administration, written texts, systematized theologies, and congregations. However, from the perspective of phenomenology of religion, it is not possible to determine which is superior because the science is descriptive, not evaluative. Both religions are experiencing "the holy" (*Die Heilige*) and expressing it by the actions of religious specialists within the rituals shared with their believers (Cho 1994:11-14, 70-82).

Third, the four dissertations emphasize indigenization and contextualization even though they do not totally understand contemporary Korean Shamanism. These should have

been based on more extensive field research of the present-day beliefs and practices of contemporary Korean Shamanism. Such indigenization and contextualization should not be attempted until contemporary Korean Shamanism is more thoroughly understood.

I believe that the one thing missing in the field of missiological studies on Korean Shamanism, is a religious and phenomenological understanding of it without prejudices and judgment. Only after Korean Shamanism is understood with an unbiased attitude, the appropriate indigenization can be developed in response to the challenge of it. I believe some insights from contemporary Korean Shamanism will serve to strengthen Christian indigenous religious patterns in Korea.

Significance of the Study

This study is significant for Christian churches in Korea. This study will:

- (1) help Korean Christians to remove the overwhelming negative judgments toward contemporary Korean Shamanism as well as toward folk Christian indigenous patterns;
- (2) help Korean Christians to understand the real strength of contemporary Shamanism and to learn insights from the indigenous spirituality of it, so that they may apply and transform it in order to strengthen the indigenous religious patterns of Korean Christianity without compromising the gospel;

(3) help folk Christians to be satisfied using such Korean Christian indigenous patterns and to give allegiance to Jesus Christ only; and

(4) help Korean Christian churches not to lose their members to contemporary Korean Shamanism.

Definitions

Western Christendom

This term was used by Eugene Nida (1954) referring to modernized and secularized Christianity influenced by a scientific and modern worldview. In the past, Western missionaries functioned as "agents of Westernization" and "purveyors of a naturalistic worldview [separating physical aspects of the world from its supernatural or spiritual aspects]" (Miller 1973:99). They assigned supernaturalistic beliefs and actions a minor role in explaining the everyday experiences of human existence. The result of this inadequate view of spiritual reality was that missionaries implanted a secularized kind of Christianity (Miller 1973:99-107; Nida 1954:255).

Furthermore, they did not support the host people's creation of their own indigenous Christianity, but rather they supported only Western Christendom. Western missionaries often tended to reject most of the old customs as "pagan." Traditional art, music, and rituals were condemned because they were related to traditional religions (Hiebert 1985:184).

Because of that, Christianity has been regarded as a Western religion that is not meaningful to the host people.

Korean Christianity

Korean Christianity has three basic forms which I will describe as: "Western Christendom" which has been adapted to fit the Western culture; "Indigenous Christianity" which is rooted in Korean culture and ways of life; and "Syncretistic Christianity" which has "dual allegiance" both to the traditional religions and to the Christian religion.

Korean Shamanism

Korean Shamanism as the oldest folk religion of Korea has been part of the culture and consciousness of Korean people (Billings 1983:48). Currently, Korean Shamanism in its popular form manifests some questionable characteristics such as the direct communication with descended spirits by shamans (*Mudang*), and the control of spirits by ritual techniques (*Kut*) (Ch'oe 1989:219); and has typical religious structures such as myth, ritual, spirits or gods, believers, and specialists (Cho 1994:13-14).

Folk Religion

The term "folk" derives from the Germanic adjective "volk" meaning "of the people." It was used initially by Johann Gottfried von Herder in Germany to connote the lower strata of society and the subjects of the authentic history of a nation. In a cultural sense, "folk" has a body of wisdom in

tales, proverbs, and lore, which has been preserved and transmitted orally from generation to generation. In a political sense, it has a native purity and tradition relatively untainted by industrialization and modernization (Schreiter 1985:124).

According to David Burnett, folk religion is the presence of traditional beliefs and practices within the context of a world religion (1988:215). Thus, in this description, the folk religion is functioning alongside a world religion with or without having separate organizational structure. In this sense, there exist many forms of folk religion such as folk Catholicism, folk Islam, and folk Protestantism.

Historically, folk religion has been denigrated by theologians as a way of expressing faith that needed to be overcome, and interpreted by Marxists as the false consciousness imposed by the ruling class upon the proletariat (Schreiter 1985:122,132). However, a more positive approach to folk religion recognizes that it "identifies socio-psychological needs" and contributes to making Christianity local (Schreiter 1985:134-136).

Folk Christianity in Korea

Following Burnett's definition of folk religion, folk Christianity in Korea has traditional shamanistic beliefs and practices within the context of Christianity. However, the evaluation of folk Christianity in Korea is difficult, because

it is involved and found within the discussion of several overlapping terms like "syncretism" or "indigenization," and "dual allegiance" or "conversion."

Another complicating factor is that different kinds of folk Christians are present and intermixed in Korea. At least two may be discerned in Christian churches. The one is a group of indigenous folk Christians who practice the traditional religious patterns without compromising the gospel. These belong to the category of "indigenization," but are accused by some theologians and intellectuals of being syncretistic for seeking material blessing and healing. The other is a group of syncretistic folk Christians who have a dual religious system (Schreiter 1985:148). Practicing both Christianity and Shamanism, this second group of folk Christians belong to the category of "syncretistic Christianity" in that they have a "dual allegiance." Description and discernment of the two is a critical need and the object of this study.

Syncretism

Robert Schreiter insists that the term "syncretism" should be used not in a negative sense but in a neutral sense as it is used in the social sciences. He prefers to use the term "syncretism" rather than to substitute "inculturation" or some other term for "syncretism," in order to understand the "intense and complex patterns of intercultural communication"

and "the relation of [the Christian] faith and culture" within the Christian church worldwide (1993:50-51).

But since the word "syncretism" itself has been only used negatively, it thus has become unacceptable within Korean churches. Even if it was redefined in Schreiter's technical sense of "neutrality," the term would likely only cause further misunderstanding among Korean Christians. Therefore, I will use "syncretism" in a negative sense but "indigenization" in a positive sense in this project. The term "syncretism" will be defined and used in a strict sense as "a phenomenon of losing identity during mixing among religions" (Kyung-Jae Kim 1996:40). "A phenomenon of maintaining identity" will be categorized as "indigenization."

In this sense, David Burnett makes more specific his division between acceptable [accommodation or indigenization] and unacceptable syncretism (1990:133-135). According to Alan Tippett, indeed, syncretism is "the union of two opposite forces, beliefs, systems or tenets so that the united form is a new thing, neither one nor the other" (Tippett 1975:17). Nida also distinguishes between indigenization and syncretism;

Indigenization consists essentially in the full employment of local indigenous forms.... Syncretism, on the other hand, involves an accommodation of content, a synthesis of beliefs, and an amalgamation of world views, in such a way as to provide some common basis for constructing a new system. (1990:131)

The Unification Church,¹⁷ for instance, is a good example of syncretism in that members believe in the Divine Principle, the so-called "Completed Testament," as the final authority that should be followed in interpreting the Old and New Testament. It is in that sense considered to be a higher revelation than the Bible (Moon 1973:118). Regarding salvation, the Divine Principle points out that Jesus could establish the basis for spiritual salvation through the redemption by the blood of the cross, but could not accomplish the purpose of the providence of physical salvation (1973:148). This implies that another messiah will be needed to complete salvation. According to James Bjornstad, the messiah is understood as the True Parent, Sun Myung Moon and his second wife, Hak Ja Hahn (1976:58-64). According to Moon, the new messiah will appear dressed in flesh like a modern man. Specifically, Moon teaches that the messiah will come to Korea, which the Moonies believe is the "third Israel" (Divine Principle 1973:516-523). However, Chun, secretary of the Evangelical Department of the General Assembly of the Korean Church in Japan, points out that this kind of teaching is not developed by Moon himself, but was one of the central ideas of several new religious movements in Korea such as the old scripture called Chung Kam Nok (The Book of Saver Chung) (1976:15-16). It carries both an indigenous form of the Yin-yang principle as well as a messianic thought. In this book,

there is a prophecy that in the end period "the true man" *Chung Do Ryung* will appear from Korea. Chun asserts that Moon would be identified with this messiah (1976:16). Therefore it is clear that the Unification Church is a mixing and syncretized form, a new religious movement, having lost its identity as Christianity.

In this way I use the term "syncretism" in a strictly descriptive sense as a phenomenon in which a religious tradition loses its identity through mixing its own phenomena with phenomena from other religious traditions.

Spirituality

Although "spirit" (*pneuma*) and "spiritual" (*pneumatikos*) are key terms in the New Testament, the meaning of "spirituality" is not clear for all Christians today. For modern believers, the term may have unfortunate connotations that suggest a negative and pessimistic anti-material understanding of Christianity (McGinn and Meyendorff 1996:xv). However, the term is useful to describe "religiosity" or "religious phenomena of encounter." Indeed, the term has been used in the sociology of religion to describe that cluster of religious practices which express the beliefs and values of a particular religious group. In this sense the word is scientifically neutral. One can speak of Islamic, Christian or shamanistic spirituality (Spittler 1988:140).

Delimitation

This study will not only deal with Western forms of Christianity, but also with folk Christianity, including: (1) "indigenous folk Christians" who practice the traditional religious patterns and (2) the other "syncretistic folk Christians" who engage in dual religious system. This delimitation can be illustrated in the following figures.

Figure 2 refers to the fact that high religion is related to cosmic questions such as the origin of universe and the meaning of life while low religion is related to problems of immediate and everyday life. Following Figure 2, both Christianity and Shamanism in Korea can be explained in terms of high and low religious concerns. Folk religion occurs primarily within the area of Low Religion.

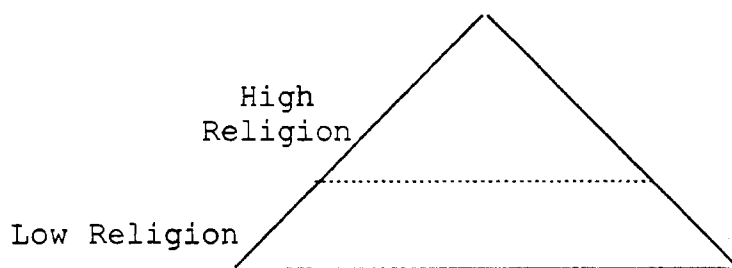


Figure 2. High Religion and Low Religion

(Cited in Irwin's MW 725 class notes,
originally from Harold Turner's class notes)

In Figure 3, the two large triangles indicate two distinct religions in our study, such as Christianity and Shamanism in Korea. Although, Shamanism often has been

categorized as folk religion (low religion only), in Figure 3 it is recognized that Korean Shamanism still retains some aspects of high religion such as public Kut rituals, trained leaders (*Mudang*), and teaching about the origin of universe and the meaning of life. The Shamanism triangle is drawn slightly less large to suggest it is not as prominent a religion as Christianity. The small triangle that is created by the overlapping of the two religions represents the area or topics of mutual concern for folk Christianity or folk Shamanism in Korea; and the checkered pattern within the triangle shows the presence of two ways religiously of dealing with these concerns.

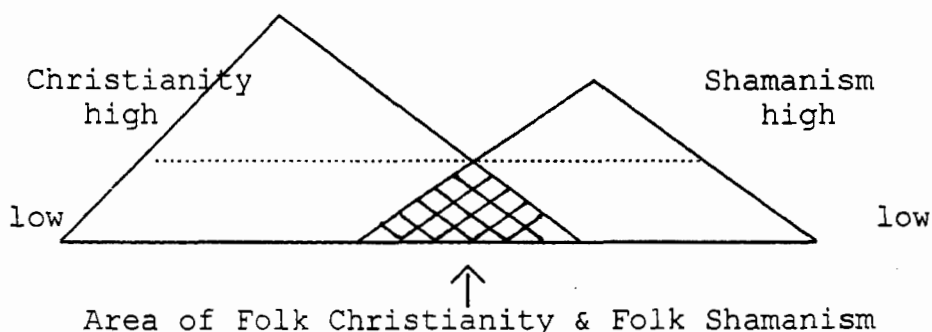


Figure 3. Encounter of Two Religions

For example, in folk Christianity, people go to prayer mountain meetings and revival meetings for their unsolved problems; and these behaviors have had various interpretations. My research project will be delimited to the study

of phenomena at prayer mountain meetings and revival meetings. In folk Shamanism, people go to shamans and practice the traditional shamanistic activities such as divinations and several *Kut* rituals for their unsolved problems. I will limit my research to Christian reasons for visiting shamans, shamans' works and beliefs, and the *Kut* ritual among other shamanistic practices.

Since my project is focused on the overlapped triangle phenomenon, "dual allegiance" of Korean syncretistic folk Christians, data regarding contemporary Shamanism can especially be delimited to my own interviews with shamans and my participant observation on *Kut* rituals as well as the extensive information discovered by Jung-Bum Suh. The data regarding folk Christianity and the indigenous patterns of Korean Christianity will be limited to information within the present lives of Korean folk Christians in or around Seoul, Korea. Although there are many other cities and villages where Christians are, the Seoul area is the proper place to conduct research, because it is the capital and the representative city of Korea, and about one fourth of the whole population lives there.¹⁸ Among Korean Christian indigenous religious patterns, my research will be limited to the prayer meetings in mountains and revival meetings for unsolved problems.

Notes

1. South Korea became a member of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) on the 11th of October 1996. The OECD has also been referred to as the "Advanced Nations' Club."

2. Sampoong was perceived to be the most luxurious and expensive department store in the richest neighborhood in Seoul. The Great Sungsoo bridge was one of the main bridges that connected the northern area and the southern area of Seoul. These incidents were terrible shocks to Korean society. Koreans are proud of their technique of construction in the world. There were many reasons for the collapses. However, these incidents were attributed to the past military regimes. Starting in 1961, military dictatorships encouraged the "goals first" philosophy and emphasized the value of ends justifying means. Corruption was flourishing in the society.

3. According to the government statistics in Korea, the Protestant churches had 6,349,201 members in 1981 and 6,489,282 members in 1985 (see Joongang Korean Daily News (1996), 12 September:4, and Prayer Calendar of Christian Missions in Korea and General Directory, edited by Ransom Rice, Jr. 1982:250).

4. The government report of 8,819,000 is far from the statistics of the Protestant churches in Korea which claimed 14,460,000 as the their figure for church members. The difference between the two statistics may come from the fact that many Christian churches and denominations exaggerated the numbers of their memberships.

The reasons of decrease of Korean church growth are considered by Korean historians and theologians as follows: (1) aspects outside churches such as little need of modernization with the aids of the church, spending weekend for leisure time, and women's working outside the family and the house for earning money; (2) aspects inside churches such as loss of nominal Christians, weakness of spiritual identity of churches and pastors, absence of lay leadership, little investment in Sunday school and Youth education, and little partnership for evangelism among denominations, believers, and churches (Mahn-Yeol Lee 1997:129-167).

5. See the definition of "folk Christianity in Korea" in the section, Definition of Terms.

6. According to Norman Allison, a religion has "high" and "low" systems. The "high" Christianity may answer cosmic questions like the origin of universe and the meaning of life,

but not answer problems of immediate and everyday life such as diseases, drought, and plagues (Allison 1984:167-68).

7. Charles Kraft, professor of Anthropology at Fuller Theological Seminary's School of World Mission, and Marguerite Kraft, professor at Biola University, use the term "riding two horses" about "dual allegiance." The authors show us two horses are the "horse" of allegiance to Jesus and the "horse" of a continued dependence on the power of Satan to fill in gaps not provided for by the Western Christianity (1993:1). They consider the power of shamanistic spirits demonic. To some extent, I agree with them that the shamanistic power is closely related to Satan and the demons. However, it is not a simple issue in Korea to judge whether a dead spirit of an ancestor can be demonic or not. Korean Shamanism classifies deity into three categories: right deity (heros, saints, Buddha, nature spirits), ancestor deity, and demonic deity. In Korean Shamanism, the demonic deity only refers to a category of dead spirits who had unnatural death in meeting various accidents, illness, assassination, and suicide. Thus, it is hardly understood for Koreans that their ancestor spirits are demonic.

8. "Dual allegiance" is a typical distinction with regard to folk Christians who have dual religious systems (Schreiter 1985:148). It causes "syncretism."

9. "Functional substitutes" occur when Christian churches "employ familiar, meaningful, indigenous forms, adapting and infilling them with Christian content" (Kraft 1973:49).

10. Schreiter calls the positive approach with regard to folk Christians "the remnant approach" in which the traditional beliefs and practices are incorporated into Christianity (1985:136).

11. I will use the term "pattern" to refer to "a reliable sample of traits, acts, or other observable features characterizing an individual [or a group of people]" (Webster 1973:841). Thus, "the Korean Christian indigenous patterns" refer to reliable samples of traits, acts, or other observable features characterizing the group of Korean indigenous Christians.

12. According to Charles Kraft, biblical Christianity should not simply preserve past approaches to Christian life and doctrine, but be dynamic and adaptive in our day to meet felt needs, because the Christianity of the New Testament was not conservative but dynamic and adaptive in its day (1979:37-38).

13. Purposive sampling requires the researcher to handpick the sample for a special purpose. The value of purposive sampling is that it allows the researcher to justify his or her choices (Fink and Kosecoff 1985:59-60).

14. Among 221 prayer centers in Korea, I chose three particular Protestant prayer mountain centers on the basis of the following criteria: Taewhasan Prayer Mountain Center, an ordinary prayer mountain center near Seoul; Osanri Prayer Mountain Center, the largest prayer mountain center near Seoul; and Haneolsan Prayer Mountain Center, the oldest prayer mountain center near Seoul (Christian Journal 1997:764-770).

And I selected three of the largest churches in their denominations, Keumran Methodist Church, the largest Methodist congregation in Korea (worship attendance 40,000; pastored by Hongdo Kim); Juan Presbyterian Church, the largest Presbyterian congregation in Korea (worship attendance 38,000; pastored by Kumil Nah); and Yoido Full Gospel Church, the largest church of the Assembly of God in Korea (worship attendance 190,000; pastored by Yonggi Cho) (Christian Sinmun (The Christian Press) 12 August 1995).

15. Until recently, the discipline of phenomenology of religion in Religious Studies assumed objectively that the sacred was the essence of all religions. Recently scholars in the American Academy of Religion (AAR) have criticized the assumption saying that objectivity in regard to religions is lost because it is too near the faith position from the Christian perspective (Allen 1996:30-40). However, this study proceeds on the basis of earlier work and questions if the new AAR position actually may be a temporary position in the Study of Religion.

16. Among the traditional approaches to Religious Studies, the rationalist approach flourished before the appearance of the phenomenological approach. The rationalist's stance regards all supernatural religions as projections of the human mind, the reflections of fears, wishes, and mistaken reasonings of prescientific humanity. To them, religion was derived from "ancestor reverence" (G. Spencer), from "class conflict" (K. Marx), from "the sacredness of collective values" (E. Durkheim), from "psychological immaturity" (S. Freud), and from "the belief in souls and spirits" (E. Tylor) (Paden 1994:26-29).

This rationalist approach, however, is not adequate to my study. First, because the rationalist approach uses Religious Studies to illustrate its predetermined ideologies such as sociology, psychology, and rationalism. Its rational, psychological, sociological explanations of religions can oppose any supernatural explanation of religions. Second,

because my study has to do with the Christian mission. The task of Christian mission is to "interact with other people influenced by other religions in order to bring about an encounter with the gospel of Jesus Christ" (Braaten 1992:47). To do the mission of witness, first of all, we need to understand phenomenologically who they are and what they believe in without any prejudices.

17. The Unification church was founded by Sun Myung Moon who was born as the second son of Kyung Yoo Moon on January 6, 1920 in the Pyung-Buk province of what is now North Korea. His original name was Yong Myung Moon and changed into Sun Myung Moon on August 11, 1964 (Kim 1987:81).

It was reported that he became a Christian at the age of ten (1987:82). During his high school years in Seoul, he was influenced by the revival movement led by Rev. Yong Do Lee, a Methodist mystic and revivalist. He also participated in a Pentecostal group. These may have helped to satisfy his yearning for mystical and visionary experiences (Tucker 1989:246). While praying alone on a mountain at the age of sixteen, he had a mystical encounter with Jesus Christ. He heard a divine voice and a divine revelation to complete the unfinished work of God's will and establish the Kingdom of God on earth (1987:82). It was this vision that set the stage for Moon to assume the messianic role that he would later fill. He joined a new religious movement led by Paik Moon Kim who had already established a reputation for messianic teaching (1987:83). The teachings of Paik Moon Kim influenced Moon to establish and develop his Divine Principle (Kim 1987:83).

Since the time the Unification Church was officially founded in 1954, it has been trying to influence the world through the missionary outreach and by establishing the Unification Theological Seminary at Barrytown, New York and the Sungwha (Holy Fire) University in Cheonan, Korea.

18. According to government statistics, 10,595,943 (male 5,326,022 and female 5,269,921) live in Seoul in 1995 (National Statistics Year Book 1997:77).

Chapter 2

Review of Related Literature

In this chapter, I will review the literature related to my topic, indigenous Christian response to the challenge of contemporary Shamanism within the Protestant churches in Korea. I have divided it into several sections: (1) phenomenology of religion, (2) Shamanism as a religion in the world, (3) Shamanism in Korea, (4) interpretations of the relationship between Korean Christianity and Korean Shamanism, (5) interpretations of folk Christianity in Korea, and (6) ways of strengthening indigenization.

Phenomenology of Religion

Since the term "phenomenology of religion" is widely and differently used by missiologists and religious scholars, its meaning is as varied as scholars' opinions. In his article, "Phenomenology as Mission Method," Dean Gilliland, a professor of Contextualized Theology at Fuller Theological Seminary, uses it in a broad sense, saying it is an approach or a method of objective study of the essence of religious phenomena (1979:451-454). This phenomenological approach includes: (1) seeking for underlying meaning by participant observation, and (2) describing rather than explaining. He suggests that Christian missionaries use phenomenology of religion to understand other religions at a deep level before they communicate the gospel (1979:455-456). However, his view of phenomenology of religion is so broad that a

researcher can not use it without devising practical guide lines or specific categories.

In his book, The Meaning of Religion: Lectures in the Phenomenology of Religion, Brede Kristensen defines phenomenology of religion in a strict sense, as a systematic classifying and grouping of the data of religious phenomena for understanding the meaning of religion (1960:1-4). His strict definition contributes to studying religious phenomena specifically and systematically. He classifies religious phenomena into three groups: "religious cosmology, religious anthropology, and cultus [rituals]" (1960:23). His classification, however, is so narrow that it can not adequately describe the diversity and the complexity of religious phenomena.

Thus, there is a need for Friedrich Heiler's (1961) book, Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion (Form and Substance of Religious Phenomena), in which Heiler sets out the three major categories of religious phenomena as follows: first, the world of religious phenomena such as sacred objects including stone, mountain, earth, water, fire, storm, the sun, the moon, stars, heaven, light, trees, plants, animals, nature, the images, sacred dress, and sacred color, and sacred space, sacred time, sacred number, sacred action, sacred word, sacred writings, sacred person, and sacred community; second, the world of religious concepts including ideas about deity, creation, revelation, salvation, and eternal life; and third, the world of religious

experience both in its normal forms like awe, fear, peace, and supranormal forms like visions and ecstasy (1961:v-xiii).

Heiler's categories will be helpful and sufficient to describe the religious phenomena of both contemporary Korean Shamanism and contemporary Korean Christianity in my project. Through the analysis of phenomenological categories, Korean churches can rethink the essence and reality of contemporary Korean Shamanism before responding to its challenge.

Therefore, application of phenomenological categories from Heiler's analysis of the religious encounter to Korean Shamanism helps us understand it in descriptive terms before applying theological and biblical judgments. This process should enable Korean Christian leaders and believers to see what the religious dynamic is within contemporary Korean Shamanism. This, in turn, may enable them to respond to its challenge.

Shamanism as a Religion in the World

In the area of studies on Shamanism, Mircea Eliade, former Chairman of the Department of History of Religions at the University of Chicago, wrote the book, Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy (1964), that was a pioneering effort to see Shamanism as a religious phenomenon. In his book, he tries to understand Shamanism from the perspective of comparative religion, analyzing the large amount of data and cases regarding shamanistic phenomena from all over the world. Throughout this

book, Eliade contributed to changing our negative value judgment of Shamanism as superstition.

Shamanism, according to Mircea Eliade, is preeminently a religious phenomenon of Siberia and Central Asia, but also it is found universally in North America, South America, Southeast Asia, Oceania, and elsewhere (1964:4). He places it within primitive religions,¹ because it coexists with and preserves "primitive" beliefs and techniques which include magic, belief in Supreme Beings and spirits, and techniques of ecstasy (1964:6-7). However, it has unique characteristics that are different from the magic and sorcery found in other primal societies. Although a shaman functions also as a magician or sorcerer, not every magician or sorcerer can properly be termed a shaman. In the strict sense, to Eliade, a shaman is not simply a medicine man, sorcerer, and magician found in all "primitive" societies. The shaman differs from a possessed person. He or she controls his or her spirits, without becoming their instrument. He or she is a communicator and mediator between heaven and earth (1964:4-12). Eliade's study on the shaman and Shamanism helps my dissertation to avoid confusion between Shamanism and magic and sorcery, and also to understand Shamanism as a distinct religious pattern.

I.M. Lewis, a professor of Anthropology at the London School of Economics, published Ecstatic Religion: A Study of Shamanism and Spirit Possession (1971). In his book, he criticizes the present majority of British social anthropologists who have

avoided paying attention to religious experience or religious ecstasy which is the distinctive aspect of Shamanism. He tries to find and describe the religious ecstasy of Shamanism with the comparative method of Religious Studies. His contribution to the studies of Shamanism is to make clear distinction between Shamanism and spirit possession which are totally separate phenomena. According to him, following Eliade's sense, Shamanism is more than spirit possession. Shamanism and spirit possession regularly occur together but Shamanism is closely connected with mastering spirits. For example, shamans of Tungus control the tamed spirits with the inducement of regular offerings to insure the fertility and prosperity of their society and fight off, or overcome, other hostile spirits which bring sickness and bad things. Therefore, Lewis regards a shaman specifically as "a person of either sex who has mastered spirits and can control their manifestations, going into controlled states of spirit possession in appropriate circumstances" (1971:44-46).

These books are very helpful for my study on Korean Shamanism which has the similar characteristic of mastering spirits.

Korean Shamanism

Peggy Billings writes about Korean Shamanism in the book, Fire Beneath the Frost, that Shamanism is "the true folk religion of Korea" and retains a powerful hold on people even to this day (1983:48-50). Her view of Korean Shamanism as a powerful folk

religion is crucial to understanding contemporary Korean Shamanism in my project. In other words, in order to respond to the challenge of contemporary Korean Shamanism, it is important to recognize the origin of Korean Shamanism, and that it remains a powerful religion within contemporary Korean society.

Hung-Youn Cho, a scholar of Shamanism, classifies the studies on Korean Shamanism into four eras in terms of the researchers noted in his book, Muwa Minzok Munwha (Korean Shamanism and National Culture). These researchers primarily are: (1) foreign missionaries for 1900-1920, (2) Korean historians for 1920-1930, (3) Japanese scholars for 1930-1945, and (4) Korean contemporary scholars for 1945-present (1994:99).

In the first era of the studies on Korean Shamanism, except for Homer Hulbert, missionaries came to study Korean Shamanism for the purpose of developing effective communication of the gospel. Although Homer Hulbert described Shamanism without the intentional purpose of evangelism in his book The Passing of Korea, he dealt with Korean Shamanism in Chapter 30 under the title, "Religion and Superstition" (1906:403-431) and saw it as superstition. However, he gave precise descriptions of the traditional name of the shamanistic deity, *Hananim*, the shamanistic ritual, *Kut*, and the Korean shaman, *Mudang*. He concluded that the underlying religion of Koreans is Shamanism called "spirit worship" (1906:404).

Among missionaries, Horace Underwood, the first Presbyterian missionary to Korea, recognized that it was untrue that "Koreans were said to be a people without a religion" (1908:77). In his book, The Call of Korea: Political-Social-Religious, he evaluated equally Confucianism, Buddhism, and Shamanism as three representative religions. Especially, he admitted Shamanism was "the oldest of all Koreans' faith" but regarded it as "the superstition of a mystical nature" that would be "the most obstinate enemy" and would present strong barriers to the progress of the gospel (1908:90,98-99).

James Gale, a missionary for seventeen years in Korea, mentioned Korean Shamanism in his book Korea in Transition (1909). He insisted that missionaries were to fight against prevalent superstitions like "spirit cults, divination, magic, and fetishism" in the way Joshua overcame the kings of the Amorites (1909:67-68).

In sum, in the first era of the studies on Korean Shamanism, missionaries generally regarded Korean Shamanism as "superstition, spirit cults, magic" and even "an enemy" that should be eliminated for the effective communication of the gospel. They had preintention and prejudice against the serious study of Korean Shamanism.

In the second era (1920-1930) and third era (1930-1945) of the studies on Korean Shamanism, because of Japanese control on Korea, some Korean historians tried to study Shamanism in search

of national identity. Neung-Wha Lee, in his book, Chosun Musok Ko (The Study on Korean Shamanism) (1995[1927]), attempted to gather all data regarding Korean Shamanism and discovered that it was the traditional and historical religion of Koreans and the foundation of Korean culture. Nam-Sun Choi, in his article, "Bulham Munwha Ron (The Study on the Culture of Brightness)" (1958), tried to investigate the characteristics of Korean Shamanism in relation to Siberian Shamanism and Northeast Shamanism. His work contributed to rethinking Korean Shamanism as a religion closely connected to the origin of Korean people.

In contrast to these efforts of Korean scholars to rediscover the national identity from Korean Shamanism, Japanese scholars studied Korean Shamanism in order to garner support for Japanese colonial policy on Korea. Both Korean and Japanese scholars' studies on Korean Shamanism were not for the purpose of understanding, but intended for the purpose of raising the glory of their nations.

In the fourth era (1945-Present), a Christian theologian, Dong-Shik Ryu's Hankuk Mukyo ei Yeksa wa Kujo (The History and Structure of Korean Shamanism) did a significant study on Korean Shamanism. He described the history and the structure of Korean Shamanism and concluded that it has the four following characteristics: (1) Korean Shamanism is a religious phenomenon within Korean living history; (2) people worship spirits by using dance and singing; (3) its structure is dynamic in which a new

world is created among spirits and human beings through the shamanic mediation; and (4) Korean shaman's initiation process is similar to that of Shamanism in Siberia and central Asia (1975:345-346). His studies contributed to rethinking Korean Shamanism as a religion that has its history and its own religious structure.

Kil-Sung Cho'e, a social anthropologist, examined Korean Shamanism using sociological and anthropological analysis, and focusing on Korean shaman's society in his book, Hankuk Musok ei Yeonku (The Study of Korean Shamanism) (1990). He found through his participant observation and interviews that Korean Shamanism has its community including its specialists, *Mudang*, and its believers, *Dangol*. Through his work, Korean society recognized the reality of the community of Korean Shamanism and its believers.

A cultural anthropologist and expert on Shamanism, Hung-Youn Cho wrote his books, Der Koreanische Schamanismus-Eine Einfuehrung (Korean Shamanism: An Introduction) (1982) and Muwa Minzok Munwha (Korean Shamanism and National Culture) (1994), explaining Korean Shamanism not merely as a socio-cultural phenomenon but as a religious phenomenon. He contributed to making Koreans reconsider Korean Shamanism as an authentic contemporary religion pursuing universal harmony like Buddhism and Christianity in Korea. According to him, Korean Shamanism should not be criticized or judged as a simple "primitive"

magical superstition and a non-religion by Christian criteria such as canon, administrative structure, and doctrines. Even though it has no written doctrines or canon, Korean Shamanism has three main religious structures: shamans, believers, and spirits. Therefore, it should be considered a contemporary religion equal with Christianity (1994:11-19; 31-38). His study on Korean Shamanism, however, is limited to only the three religious structures already cited: shamans, believers, and spirits. Myth, ritual, religious community, and systems of purity are not yet considered in his study on Korean Shamanism. This limitation will be overcome in my project.

Jung-Bum Suh, a professor of Korean Studies at Kyunghee University in Seoul, wrote Munyeu Byulkok (The Story of Korean Women Shamans) I-VI (1996). This book has data regarding Korean Shamanism that is the result from interviewing about 3,000 shamans and observing shamanistic practices and rituals for about 40 years (1955-1996). His research is authentic and objective because of the firsthand data followed through more than one generation. His data regarding stories and cases of Korean shamans and their beliefs and practices will be a source of my phenomenological analysis in the project.

In summary, the studies on Korean Shamanism have been developed from many intended purposes, from nationalism and Christian evangelism to the creation of sociological, anthropological, and religious understandings. Thus, each one

has inherent presuppositions regarding the nature of Korean Shamanism. The consensus of studies on Korean Shamanism, however, is that it is the oldest and remains a currently powerful religion of the Korean people; and it has typical religious structures such as spirits, shaman, and believers.

Interpretations of the Relationship

Between Korean Shamanism and Korean Christianity

Regarding the relationship between Korean Shamanism and Korean Christianity, there are two interpretive tendencies among the theologians and church leaders in Korea.

The first tendency is that of the conservative Christian people who see the relationship between Shamanism and Christianity as a negative one. Even though they try to explain the tremendous church growth in Korea in terms of the relationship between Korean Shamanism and Christianity,² they have the same attitude as the early churches and missionaries in Korea. Since they regard Korean Shamanism as "unorganized and lower animism, sorcery, and superstition," in the words of Moffet (1973:12), they claim the shamanistic features should be purged from Korean Christianity in order to maintain the purity of the gospel. For instance, Hun-Ku Lee, Presbyterian pastor and a professor at Chonghoi Theological Seminary, asserts in his book, Hankuk Jeongtong Jongkyowa Hankuk Kyohoi (Korean Traditional Religions and Korean Churches) (1991), that Korean Christianity should purge some shamanistic features on the basis of following

Calvinistic theology and biblical teachings (180-234). Following Calvinistic emphasis on the sovereignty of God, he judges Christian indigenous prayers in revival meetings as magical prayers. He criticizes folk Christians for praying to God not for the sake of God's will, but only for their everyday needs. Although there are many positive sides of Christian indigenous prayers, he focuses only on the negative sides of prayers in revival meetings. He also insists that the biblical blessing is not a material blessing but is "a spiritual blessing in Christ" which is only awarded to the elected (Ephesians 1:3). He argues that Abraham is blessed because he is elected by God to be the ancestor of Jesus Christ (Genesis 12:3). For him, all biblical blessings are connected with the spiritual blessing of redemption. He does not accept the fact that the gospel includes also the physical healing and the material blessing (Isaiah 53:4-5; John 1:2). These things are regarded as shamanistic things by him. Thus, he accuses Christian revivalists and pastors of big mega churches of being shamanistic because they preach and practice "healing and blessing." He categorizes "healing or blessing" as shamanistic. Thus, folk Christian practices in revival meetings are prejudged as magical prayer, faith for health and wealth, shamanized pastors, emotionalism, shamanistic healing (1991:94-120). His accusation fits a pattern typical of Christian conservatives in Korea who desire to purge any kind of shamanistic forms from Korean Christianity. They do not

understand a clear distinction between form and meaning nor consider indigenization or contextualization of Christianity in Korea.

Another instance of conservative Christian people seeing the relationship between Shamanism and Christianity as a negative one is the book, Protestant Church Growth in Korea, written by John T. Kim who is a Presbyterian pastor and adjunct professor of Missiology at Calvin Theological Seminary, Grand Rapids, Michigan. In fact, he tries to explain the tremendous church growth in Korea in terms of the relationship between Korean Shamanism and Christianity (1996:207-241). His analysis is a good contribution to the study of church growth in Korea. However, he sees Korean Shamanism as "primitive," "simple," and "animistic" faith which has "little sense of the direction and meaning of history" and focuses only on "the personal well being and happiness" (1996:67-68,75-77,80). Since his understanding of Korean Shamanism is quite negative, he has much focus on shamanistic new Christian religious movements which are judged as heretical and false pseudo-religions by Korean Christianity. His critique on the shamanistic new Christian religious movements is right, because those movements are likely to accept revelation outside the Bible (1996:223-241). However, he might have expressed as much concern about indigenous Christianity influenced by some positive aspects of Korean Shamanism in order to develop some practical ways of contextualizing Korean

Christianity! In fact, even though he concludes that Korean Christianity needs more contextualization of its theology and its practice based on biblical teaching, he does not suggest any further practical methods which Korean Christians may follow. I think one thing missing in his book is a religious and phenomenological understanding of contemporary Korean Shamanism that should be discovered by having extensive field research on the present-day practice of Shamanism without prejudices and judgment.

The second tendency is that of the ecumenicals and some evangelicals, those who recognize Korean Christianity as being indigenous, and try to encourage the traditional and shamanistic aspects in Korean Christianity in order to sustain the Korean identity within Christianity. Kyung-Jae Kim, Presbyterian pastor and a professor at Hansin Theological Seminary, points out in his book, Jongkyo Dawon Cidae ei Kidokyo Youngseoung (The Religious Spirituality of the Age of Religious Plurality), that Korean churches have been following Western Christendom introduced by Western missionaries and neglecting the traditional culture and religions. Then, he claims that Korean churches should appreciate their traditional beliefs and practices to learn something from them (Kim 1994:242-246). His book contributes to rethinking the value of Korean religious spirituality.

Rae-Ok Choi, an elder of Korean Evangelical Holiness Church and a professor of Korean Studies at Hanyang University in Seoul,

firmly argues in his book, Hankuk Munwha wa Kidokyo (Korean Culture and Christianity), that Korean Christians should learn from Korean Shamanism about the doctrine of final judgment and the spirit of preservation of nature. He finds a more powerful moral sense in the shamanistic doctrine of final judgment than in that of Christianity (1994:108-116). His new findings about Korean Shamanism makes Korean Christians recognize that Shamanism also has ethical value and final judgment. His book is significant to my project because it causes Koreans to reconsider the shamanistic ethical value.

Hyun Kyung Chung, a professor at Union Theological Seminary in New York, points out in her book, Struggle to be the Sun Again, that Korean women easily accept the Jesus of the gospel who exorcised and healed the sick and possessed like a Korean shaman would do. To her, Jesus is identified with a shaman (1991:62-73). In her book, she uses the Korean term, *Han*, the collective feeling of resentment or bitterness of the oppressed, as a key term to understand Korean women and to do a new feminist theology. The term *Han* was refocused by her at Canberra, the February 1991 international assembly of the World Council of Churches. She presented an invocation "Come, Holy Spirit--Break Down the Walls with Wisdom and Compassion" by using a form of the shamanistic ritual (Ursula King, ed. 1994:392-394). She evoked the dead spirits, *Han* ridden spirits, as well as the Spirit of Jesus who died in *Han*. Chung's presentation struck Korean

Christian churches because she broke the boundaries between Shamanism and Christianity. Some evangelicals criticized Chung's approach as a shamanistic syncretism in which there was no clear distinction between the Holy Spirit and the dead spirits (Dong-Joo Lee 1991:72; Ro 1991:125). My approach is not like Chung's approach in which the Holy Spirit is identified with shamanistic dead spirits or the spirit of Bodhisattva.

I believe Korean Christians should reconsider both attitudes on the relationship between Korean Shamanism and Korean Christianity. We do not have to follow Western theology uncritically like conservatives do, but also we do not need to adapt shamanistic forms uncritically like ecumenicals do. I believe Korean Christians need "critical contextualization" which Paul Hiebert, a professor of Cultural Anthropology at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, uses in his article, "Critical Contextualization." It includes such processes as: 1) exegesis of the culture and religion, 2) exegesis of the Scripture, 3) people's critical response--that is "to evaluate critically their own past customs in the light of their new biblical understanding" (1987:109-110).

Mircea Eliade's Myths, Dreams, and Mysteries (1960) provides us with a clear understanding of religious phenomena, that is, an exegesis of a religion, such as myth that is not "fiction" or "illusion" but "a sacred story." Myth is related to "a real history about the holy time of the beginnings (*in illo tempore*).

Since it tells us about supernatural beings and the manifestation of their sacred powers, it becomes the exemplary model for all significant human activities (1960:23-56; cf. 1963:5-10). Especially, his explanation of religious encounters such as "theophany as manifestation of a deity, hierophany as manifestations of sacred realities, and kratophany as manifestations of power" is helpful in interpreting the beliefs and practices of Korean Shamanism (Eliade 1960:124-127).

Don Richardson's analysis of culture and religion is helpful to my project. In his book, Eternity in Their Hearts, Richardson uses the terms "the Abraham factor," "the Melchizedek factor," and "the Sodomie factor" to explain how the gospel can be contextualized by the local people. According to his illustration which is derived from interpretations of biblical narratives concerning God's revelation to humanity, the Abraham factor refers to God's special revelation and the Melchizedek factor means God's general revelation in human consciousness and in nature. The Sodomie factor indicates sinful aspects of culture and religion that emerge from the magical attitude of human beings toward God (1981:32-33). As previously described, Richardson's analysis is helpful in my project to discern or evaluate the beliefs and practices of contemporary Korean Shamanism. In other words, some negative aspects from the influence of Korean Shamanism should be expected such as magical tendencies toward interpreting evil and sinfulness, and should be

purged from Korean Christianity in the light of the Bible. But the positive aspects of Shamanism that encourage Korean cultural patterns and worldview, such as a spirit of wholeness and harmony, do not have to be rejected totally.

Folk Christianity in Korea

After understanding the distinctive beliefs and practices of contemporary Korean Shamanism that continually challenge Korean Christians, we need to analyze the phenomenon of "dual allegiance" of Korean Christians in terms of folk religion.

David Burnett's book Unearthly Powers: A Christian's Handbook on Primal and Folk Religions is helpful to the study of folk religions. By his definition, folk religion is the presence of traditional beliefs and practices within the context of a world religion (1988:215). Thus, the folk religion is functioning alongside a world religion with or without having separate organizational structure. In this sense, there are folk Catholics, folk Muslims, folk Protestants, and others. This book is important to my project, because it helps in understanding how Korean folk Christians have the characteristics of folk religion.

Eugene Nida's Religion Across Cultures (1979) demonstrates folk religion in terms of "the lower story" of a two story building. The upper story refers to the universal teaching of a religion and the lower story refers to the folk beliefs of a religion. His "two story building" analysis is helpful to

understand Korean folk Christianity similar to how Charles Kraft explains it as "riding two horses" or "dual allegiance" (1993: 1-3).

In his book Popular Religion in America (1980) Peter Williams sees folk religion as popular religion and explains it in terms of the dialectic tension between the abstract universal high teachings of a great tradition and the more immediate, ahistorical, and particularistic worldview³ of primitive⁴ religions (1980:63,88). Following his analysis of popular religion helps one understand Korean folk Christianity as a popular religion.

Eunice Irwin makes a distinction between two types of folk religions in her "MW 725 Primal and Folk Religions Class Notes." The first, Folk₁ religion, is following the primal religious pattern of manipulation of powers by using magic; but the second, Folk₂ religion appears whenever Folk₁ religion is challenged by a secular society or a major universal religion resulting in the necessity of traditional belief within a world religion. Thus, Folk₂ religion is characterized by a greater degree of syncretism. For instance, folk Catholicism accepts not only the central teachings of the Catholic churches, but also preserves the local beliefs and practices. In this sense, Irwin's analysis is helpful to understand folk Protestant Christians among Korean

Christians who practice Korean indigenous patterns, visiting shamans for the immediate purpose of solving everyday problems.

Robert Schreiter, a professor at the Catholic Theological Union in Chicago, wrote a significant book on contextualization theory, Constructing Local Theologies (1985). It deals with ways of contextualizing the gospel to help it take deep root in each local context. His last two chapters, "Popular Religion and Official Religion" and "Syncretism and Dual Religious Systems" are especially helpful to identify and understand the phenomenon of "dual allegiance" of the Korean folk Christians. He uses "dual religious systems" to describe "dual allegiance" of folk Christians. As has already been mentioned, he classifies three kinds of dual religious systems: (1) Christianity and another tradition functioning independently of each other; (2) Christianity being practiced in its integrity while selected elements from another system are also practiced; and (3) "double belonging," where members belong both to a particular religion and a nation (1985:148-149). Schreiter's categories contribute to understanding and identifying the phenomenon of the Korean folk Christian "dual allegiance" which can be understood as the second kind of dual religious system.

After understanding "dual allegiance," we need ways of responding to it.

Ways of Strengthening Indigenization

In the past, Christian missionaries, as one of the greatest cultural forces in history, secularized the host cultures of folk groups by undercutting the spirituality of those cultures (Newbiggin 1966:1-14). Elmer S. Miller clearly articulates in his article "The Christian Missionary: Agent of Secularization" that a Western missionary supports the Western naturalistic worldview (separating physical aspects of the world from its spiritual aspects) rather than reinforces or expands a traditional supernaturalistic worldview (interacting between the physical and spiritual aspects of the world) (1973:99-100). He shows us examples of the Toba Indians where missionaries as agents of secularization were successful in communicating their secularized worldview to the target culture (1973:100-105). Their three mission approaches--store, school, clinic--served to impose the naturalistic worldview on the Toba and contributed to the breakdown of traditional reliance upon supernaturalism (1973:105-106).

His study of the Christian missionary as an agent of secularization helps us to understand how Christianity in Korea has been so much westernized and secularized. When Christianity came to Korea during the historical transition times in the late nineteenth century, missionaries also brought modern markets, schools, and medical systems. Most Korean people regarded Christianity as the religious movement that possessed the highest

civilization, culture, and power to deliver Korea from the controlling power of Japan. They were seeking new Western culture and education in the church (Paik 1970:357). During the military regime and economic growth of the 60s and 70s, people were seeking material success and modernization in the church. In this way, Christianity was identified with Westernization and modernization.

However, Miller's study also gives us insights into why Koreans currently do not have to ignore their traditional worldview in their preference for the secular worldview. During the 90s, Korean people do not need Christianity as a tool of modernization and Westernization. They seek a religiosity or spirituality in Christianity. Contemporary Korean Christianity is expected to satisfy the people not with the form of Western Christendom but with an indigenous Christianity relevant to the traditional worldview of Korean people.

John V. Taylor's The Primal Vision, a study of the African indigenous Christian church and theology in Buganda, demonstrates that Western Christian mission provided folk people with "classroom religion" that had nothing to do with their ordinary life (1963:12-15). His book contributes to understanding how Western forms of Christianity in Korea identify with Western education and reflect the Western worldview (14-15). It makes us realize the dual allegiance problem that appears whenever folk Christians meet crises in their lives. However, this book

suggests to Christian leaders a solution to folk religious phenomenon: they should translate Christian doctrines into immediately comprehensible and relevant terms of the folk people. The folk beliefs and practices should be understood not from the Western scientific worldview but from their own worldview. After that, they should be transformed by the biblical worldview (1963:18-28). His study is helpful to understand Korean folk Christians although it is applied only to African traditional religions. His insights from African religions should be applied to Korean Christianity in order to help Christians respond to the challenge of Korean Shamanism.

Eugene A. Nida's book Customs and Cultures deals with the problem of Christian missions where Western missionaries identify Christianity with the Western culture. According to Nida, the missionaries tried to be advocates not for Christianity but for Western Christendom. With the attitude of superiority about their own culture, they spread Western customs and the Western culture. Nida suggests that the gospel should be conveyed within every indigenous culture through the method of "biblical cultural relativism" (1954:50-52). This biblical cultural relativism clearly means that although different cultures have different standards, these differences are adapted, acculturated, and indigenized under the Bible and the Lordship of Jesus Christ.

This book can contribute to the rethinking of Christianity and culture in Korea. Since the gospel and Christianity have not

been fully rooted within Korean culture and religion, we need to try to develop Korean Christianity in relationship to the context of Korean indigenous culture and religion. Through indigenization and contextualization of the gospel in the Korean culture and religion, Koreans can understand Christianity in a Korean way, and transform and revitalize the Korean culture, and let people know that Christians are "real Koreans."

Darrell Whiteman's Melanesians and Missionaries is a helpful book to help find a way to strengthen the Korean indigenous religious patterns of Christianity. He provides us with a good historical example of Melanesian indigenous churches and their need of indigenization. According to the early history of the Melanesian Mission, even though Bishop Paterson advocated indigenous Melanesian Christianity rather than an automatic conversion to Victorian English values and culture, many missionaries of the Melanesian Mission failed to introduce Christianity in a way that facilitated its indigenization to Melanesian life-ways (1983:117-120).

Whiteman explains indigenization in terms of form and meaning, "indigenous Christianity [involves]... employing traditional forms to express the new meaning found in Christianity" (1983:147). His writing is valuable to suggest ways how Korean Christians could employ traditional shamanistic forms, such as free and enthusiastic prayer, prayer for healing, prayer in mountains, emphasis of offering, and the concept of

"restoration," in order to express a new meaning found in Korean Christianity.

In the next chapter, I will deal with the definition, the worldview, the history, the practices, and the phenomena of contemporary Korean Shamanism.

Notes

1. Eliade used the word "primitive" in the sense of the term "primal" today. The word "primitive" can transmit the evolutionary theory assuming the traditional way of looking at things to be childish and undeveloped by inference. The word, "primal," however, connotes the universal, basic, and primary elements of human being's understanding of God and the world.

2. Roy E. Shearer, in his book, Wildfire: Church Growth in Korea (1966) recognized that Shamanism has been the rich plowed soil in which Christianity has flourished. He tried to evaluate Korean Shamanism as dynamic forces which have influenced church growth in Korea (29-30). For instance, the name of shamanistic *Hananim*, the Heavenly Supreme Almighty, was adapted as the Christian name for God in Korea which helped Christianity grow (1966:30-31). Samuel H. Moffett admitted in his article, "What Makes the Korean Church Grow?" (1973), Shamanism was a religious soil on which the gospel was spreading successfully.

3. David Burnett's Clash of Worlds: A Christian Handbook on Cultures, World Religions, and Evangelism (1990) which is going beyond William's mention of "particularistic worldview" provides us with "distinctives of primal worldview."

First, he asserts that there is no dichotomy between the unseen world and the seen world in all primal religions. They see the whole universe as a total unity between the natural and the supernatural, the spiritual and the physical, and the sacred and the profane (1990:58).

Second, the primal religions see the universe is not a closed system and continually influenced by spiritual beings (1990:58). For them, the Creator high God, or the Supreme deities are distant, the lesser spirits such as local gods, goddesses, natural spirits, deceased saints, and ancestor spirits can influence human beings and community (1990:59-62).

Third, they have religious specialists such as shamans, magicians, and those doing witchcraft, who try to appease and manipulate the spirits by using magic, sorcery, sacrifices, and rituals to bring healing, prosperity, and security (1990:61-62).

Fourth, the primal religions emphasize the community. In the primal societies, the community is always more important than the individual desires or happiness, because the basic building block of the society is not an individual but a family or a group (1990:63-65).

Lastly, time is circular for the primal people. To the primal religions, time is mystical, seasonal, and repeating. To them, human life follows a rhythm of natural phenomena like birth, and death, or day and night, or the seasons (1990:65).

4. In general, the term which refers to religions of the preliterate society or of tribal people used to be "pagan, heathen, and primitive religions." In this project, I will use "primal" instead of "primitive" similar to how Harold Turner has proposed the term, "primal" (Turner 1974:7) because the words "pagan or heathen" can carry negative senses and the word "primitive" can transmit the evolutionary theory assuming the traditional way of looking at things to be childish and undeveloped by inference. The word, "primal," however, connotes the universal, basic, and primary elements of human being's understanding of God and the world.

Chapter 3

An Understanding of Contemporary Korean Shamanism

In order to respond to the challenge of contemporary Korean Shamanism within the community of Protestant Christians in Korea, first of all, we should understand the religious phenomena of contemporary Korean Shamanism. Korean Christians should not underestimate the power of Korean Shamanism, considering it as simple superstition, but understand its religious reality and force.

Korean Shamanism, as the oldest folk religion of Korea, is one of the most significant and representative religions of the Korean people (Choi 1992:24). Throughout Korean history, it has been part of the culture and consciousness of Korean people (Billings 1983:48). Even in this day of technology and science, it has a powerful hold on Korean people.¹ Therefore, an understanding of contemporary Korean Shamanism is the first step to cope with the challenge of contemporary Korean Shamanism within the Protestant Christian population in Korea.

In this chapter, I intend to deal primarily with the definition, the history, the worldview, and practices of Korean Shamanism. The phenomena of contemporary Korean Shamanism then will be described phenomenologically according to the categories of Friedrich Heiler. The phenomenological understanding of Korean Shamanism as a religion is helpful to understand its reality.

A Preliminary Understanding of Korean Shamanism

Definition of Shamanism

According to Mircea Eliade, Shamanism is not simple magic but a religious system that is found and practiced in Siberia, Central Asia, North America, South America, Southeast Asia, Oceania, and elsewhere.² He defines it briefly as "techniques of ecstasy" that includes a trance during which the soul is believed to leave the body and ascend to the sky or descend to the underworld (1964:4-5).

David Burnett, however, focuses on the aspect of controlling spirits and defines Shamanism by emphasizing the role of a shaman as "cooperating with spirits" and "[having] the control of spirits with the aim of achieving healing" (1990:163). I. M. Lewis defines a shaman as a "master of spirits" who differs from a "possessed" person (Lewis 1971:57).³ Among these definitions of Shamanism, I believe the common and most central characteristic is the ability to control spirits in order to insure a person's or community's security and protection.

In the specific case of Korean Shamanism, Hung-Youn Cho agrees with Eliade that Korean Shamanism has "archaic techniques of ecstasy" (1994:97). Kil-Song Ch'oe insists that Korean Shamanism has some critical characteristics such as the direct communication with descended spirits by shamans and the control of spirits by ritual techniques (1989:219). In the case of Korean shamans, they communicate directly with the spirits and

control them by ritual ceremonies. During the ritual (*Kut*), a Korean shaman would practice four typical performances: invitation of spirits by using songs and musical instrument such as a drum, welcome dance for the good spirits, oracular revelation, and farewell song (Owens 1975:179). Korean shamans enter into trance or ecstasy by singing and dancing, exorcise the malevolent spirits, and deliver the message from the spirits. Korean shamans conclude the ritual by singing songs of praise to the good spirits who are helpers in the conquest of the bad spirits (Owens 1975:180).

Therefore, we can summarize and find that Korean Shamanism has phenomena of Shamanism in general such as direct communication with spirits by the shaman (*Mudang*) who has techniques of ecstasy and the control of spirits by ritual technique (*Kut*).

Its History

When Ji-Hun Cho (1964:78) defines Korean Shamanism as the oldest folk religion of the Korean people, he is indicating that Shamanism has been the pervasive religious custom and culture of the Korean *Minjung* (the common people or folk), formed in the lives of the ordinary people before foreign religions like Buddhism, Confucianism, and Christianity entered Korea. According to tradition, Korean history dates back to 2332 BC when Dangun, "the Son of Heaven", founded Kochoson (The first kingdom of Korea). The founder of Korea, Dangun, had a role of a great

shaman, a king and a priest (Hung-Yun Cho 1982:11). After the kingdom of Kochoson perished, three kingdoms took place in the area of Kochoson: the kingdom of Koguryo (A.D. 37-668), Paekje (A.D. 18-663), and Silla (A.D. 57-935). In the kingdom of Silla, the title of king was *Chachaung* which meant "a great shaman and king" (Vos 1977:66).

After Buddhism came to Korea from China in the fourth century, it became the official religion of Silla and Koryo dynasties. Even though Buddhism was the official religion of ancient Korean nations, Shamanism still had a powerful hold on the people. They made various sacrifices to spirits such as ancestor spirits, heroes, nature spirits, and spirits of agriculture for securing the community and the nation (Ryu 1975:76-77). The king Jinheung (540-576) in Silla commanded the construction of a Buddhist temple, Hwang-Yong Sa (Bu-Shik Kim 1980:58), but the name of the temple was *Hwang-Yong* (dragon god), named after a dragon god of Shamanism. He also encouraged *Hwarangdo*⁴ (religious and military training of youth) in which they practiced magical communication with spirits through dancing and singing (Vos 1977:64). He also arranged *Palgwanhoe*⁵, a kind of Buddhist feast in which shamanistic gods of heaven, mountain, and dragon were worshipped. During that time, the official religion was Buddhism, but Shamanism still existed and influenced Buddhism (Ryu 1975:141).

When Confucianism came to Korea, it became the official religion of the Choson dynasty (1392-1910). Even though the beliefs of Confucianism contradicted Shamanism, Korean Neo-Confucianists did not reject the spirit worship aspect of Shamanism (Lee 1988:90-91). They practiced ancestor worship in order to bring prosperity and security to their families and communities. This was parallel to the influence of Shamanism in which ancestor spirits assumed a great role in bringing prosperity and security.

Japanese colonialism tried to destroy Korean Shamanism because they knew Korean identity was closely connected with it. They prohibited the *Kut* ritual for the community which was held every year (Cho 1994:17). After the liberation of Korea from Japanese colonialism on August 15th in 1945, the new government, influenced by Western values like rationalism and modernization, suppressed Korean Shamanism which was then regarded as traditional values and religious practices. The Protestant churches also had aggressive attitudes toward Korean Shamanism which was seen as a superstition (Cho 1994:17-20). Even though some aspects of Korean Shamanism were destroyed by the influence of the Japanese colonial power (1910-1945) and the Protestant churches (1884-present), currently the religion is being revived again and holds a powerful influence on people.

In summary, Korean Shamanism has survived as a religious system throughout Korean history even though it seems to have

been undermined by Japanese colonialism, modernization, and Christianity.

Its Worldview

Worldview can be defined as "the central set of concepts and presuppositions that provide people with their basic assumptions about reality" (Whiteman 1983:478). Thus, worldview is "a shared framework of ideas held by a particular society concerning how they perceive the world" (Burnett 1990:13). I will follow Burnett's criteria of primal worldview and try to probe the worldview of Korean Shamanism. Using Burnett's criteria of primal worldview, it is clear that Korean Shamanism perceives the world generally in the same way as do those practicing primal religions. These worldviews are very similar.

First, in the primal worldview the whole of the created universe has a total unity between the unseen and the seen world, between the sacred and the profane, and the spiritual and the physical (Burnett 1990:59). Likewise, Korean shamanistic worldview has no dichotomy between physical and spiritual realms of creation. For example, the ideal of Korean Shamanism is to unify and make harmony between physical and spiritual realms. Physical blessings are always connected to spirit worlds (Cho 1994:19).

Second, in Korean shamanistic worldview, as in the primal worldview, the universe is not a closed system.⁶ Thus, communication between terrestrial and supernatural realms is open

and possible (Burnett 1990:59). In the case of Korean Shamanism, the universe has three levels which are connected together by a central axis: sky, earth, and underworld. In the upper level, *Hanamim* and the benevolent spirits live. In the middle layer, people and all animate and inanimate things live. In the lower level, the evil spirits live. It is believed that everyone will either ascend to the upper level or descend to the lower one after death (Billings 1983:49).

Third, in the primal worldview the Creator God or the supreme deities are distant and the lesser spirits, such as local gods, goddesses, nature spirits in trees, rivers, hills, ancestors, and deceased saints are able to influence human beings and communities (Burnett 1990:59). As the primal worldview has commonly the greatest divinity in heaven who is an all-powerful creator, Korean Shamanism has *Hananim*, the "Heavenly Supreme Almighty" far above all spirits. In Korean Shamanism, like the primal religions, *Hananim* is distant and the lesser spirits, such as local gods (*Gibangsin*), goddesses (*Samsin Halmi*), ancestors (*Chosangsin*), nature spirits (*Jayeonsin*) in trees (*Namusin*), rivers (*Kangsin*), and mountains (*Sansin*) can rule and influence human beings and communities (Billings 1983:49).

Fourth, in the primal worldview health and prosperity always depend on the relationship with the spirits. As in many primal societies, shamans try to appease and manipulate the spirits to bring healing, prosperity, security, and life by using magic,

sacrifices, and rituals. Koreans who practice Shamanism likewise ask Korean shamans (*Mudang*) to try to appease and manipulate the spirits to bring healing, prosperity, security, and life through sacrifices and rituals (*Kut*).

Fifth, as the primal worldview emphasizes the community, Korean shamanistic worldview also focuses on the community (Burnett 1990:60). In the primal societies, the community's desires or happiness is always more important than that of the individual, because the basic building block of the society is not an individual but a family or a group. Primal people do not see themselves as autonomous, but rather as members of the groups to which they belong (Hiebert 1985:122). Korean Shamanism has the *Kut* ritual for the community such as *Maeul Kut* for strengthening a sense of community once a year (Cho 1994:19).

Lastly, time is circular for the primal worldview while time is linear for the modern world view (Burnett 1990:65). To Koreans who follow Shamanism, time is mythical, seasonal, and repeating. It follows a rhythm of natural phenomena like birth, procreation and death, day and night, or the seasons of the year. In case of Korean Shamanism, the first day of every new year in lunar calendar is more important than the other days, because it is the sacred day in which every person including the dead and the living can restart new lives by expelling old things or evil spirits (Tae-Gon Kim 1995:466-467).

Its Practice

Joachim Wach, a scholar of comparative religion, defines religion as "an active and total response to what is experienced intensely as ultimate or transcendent reality" (Wach 1958:31). Korean Shamanism can be regarded as an expression of religion in terms of Wach's definition. In fact, Korean Shamanism has to be categorized as more than merely superstition; it fits as the religion of a specific folk group by his definition. Thus, in order to describe beliefs and behaviors of this religious group, I will employ Harold W. Turner's classification of what he considers to be included under the five areas of religion: internal religious experience, cult, community, creed, and code. Since Harold Turner is regarded an expert on primal or folk religion quoted and referred to by Burnett and others, his analysis of religion is helpful to understand Korean Shamanism.

First, according to Harold Turner who follows Heiler, Otto, and Eliade, the core of religion is internal religious experiences which he says may variously be described using words such as awe, reverence, adoration, devotion, confession, dream, vision, miracle, sign, conversion, possession, trance, revelation, ecstasy, bliss, rapture, vow, and regeneration (Turner's lecture notes n.d. in Eunice Irwin's class notes). Eliade defines the essence of Shamanism to be "techniques of ecstasy." Korean shamans feel ecstasy in spirit possession or trance during ritual dancing (Covell 1983:42). During the Kut

ritual, especially while believers following Shamanism listen to chants and summons of the spirits, and observe divination, they feel a sense of awe and fear.

Second, religions have cult which is variously expressed using terms such as idol, image, iconoclasm, altar, shrine, sanctuary, temple, hymn, rite, litany, blessing, and sacrifices. Korean Shamanism has many images, and promotes the use of altars, shrines, sacrifices, and the *Kut* ritual. The house of a shaman serves as a shrine for Korean Shamanism. Sacred objects such as paintings of spirits are often placed on the wall. The shrine has an altar, which is a wooden table on which various fans showing the multiplicity of spirits are laid and foods⁷ and flowers are offered (Covell 1983:41-42).

In Korean Shamanism, it is believed that gifts and food sacrifices open up a channel of communication between the profane world and the world of the spirit. The *Kut* ritual is an important rite of sacrifice that can be categorized into three types. "*Tangkut*" is for an entire village or community. "*Shinkut*" is for the shaman's initiation. "*Regular Kut*" is for a living person to bring good fortune, to heal or to overcome misfortune, and for a deceased person to ask the spirit to find rest in a pleasant place (Billings 1983:49).

Third, religions have the dimension of community that can be recognized by its several social forms such as cult, sect, denomination, parish, church, religious order, believers,

followers, and religious specialists. While Korean Shamanism has no institutional form of religious community, it has a reasonably formal relationship between shamans and followers (Cho 1994:13). Shamans, as mediums between spirits and the people, have the central position in Korean Shamanism. They appease and manipulate the spirits to bring healing, prosperity, security, and life by using sacrifices and ritual.

Fourth, religions have the dimension of myth or creed that serves to explain beliefs using various religious terms like gods, spirit, divinity, angel, demon, incarnation, theophany, heaven, hell, salvation, scriptures, canon, doctrine, dogma, creed, and myth. Although Korean Shamanism has no official creed or doctrines, it explains interaction with many gods and spirits, and has a definite concept of heaven and hell maintained in the oral tradition. According to Tae-Gon Kim, a scholar of Korean Shamanism, two hundred seventy-three gods or spirits exist in Korean Shamanism among which nearly one third are gods or spirits of nature: including, the heavenly god (*Chunsin*), the god of the sea (*Soosin*), the mountain god (*Sansin*), the god of the wind (*Poongsin*), and the god of the house (*Sungzoosin*) (1995:280-285). Most Koreans commonly accept the belief that everyone ultimately goes to Jeuh Seung (the future world after this world) to be judged by the King Yumna (the king of judgment) (Billings 1983:49).

Fifth, religions have the dimension of code that regulates behavior by means of using concepts such as sins, taboos, holiness, religious lifestyle, behavior, dress, and disciplinary systems. Korean Shamanism has a less developed religious lifestyle and has not found it necessary to formulate codes or ethics. It has been Confucianism that provided Koreans with the strong ethical system. Even though it has a social function in a family and community, Korean Shamanism has not developed universal ethics or codes beyond the local community. Thus, Korean Shamanism has been negatively characterized as fatalistic, morally indifferent, self-centered, escapist, and also externally fanatical in its ceremonial rites (Park 1972:34). According to Rae-Ok Choi, however, Shamanism has a more powerful moral sense than that of Christianity in its doctrine of final judgment and the spirit of preservation of nature which causes Koreans to reconsider the shamanistic ethical value (1994:108-116).

A Phenomenological Understanding of Contemporary Korean Shamanism

To understand contemporary Korean Shamanism by discussing its world from the point of view of Religious Studies, I prefer to use the categories in phenomenology of religion as described by Friedrich Heiler (1961:18-21). Friedrich Heiler is a scholar well known for phenomenology of religion who put religious phenomena under categories and sub-categories which have the widest possible application across religious traditions (McKenzie

1988:1). Heiler sets out three major categories as follows: first, the world of religious phenomena forms such as sacred objects, sacred artifacts, sacred space, sacred time, sacred action, sacred word, sacred writings, sacred person, and sacred community; second, the world of religious concepts including such ideas as deity, salvation, and eternal life; and third, the world of religious experience both in its normal and supranormal forms (1961:vii-xiii). I will follow Heiler's set of sub-categories without changing these, in order to test the phenomena of Shamanism against universally demonstrated religious phenomena.

Using these categories, I will reflect upon the data of my interviews and participant observations regarding contemporary Korean Shamanism as well as the data of Jung-Bum Suh, professor of Korean Studies at Kyunghee University in Seoul. Jung-Bum Suh is a well known scholar and expert on Korean Shamanism. He wrote the 6 volume set of books, Munyeu Byulkok (The Story of Korean Women Shamans) I-VI (1996), on the basis of his collective data obtained from interviews and observations regarding Korean Shamanism. He organized his data in the form of case studies. I conducted field research regarding contemporary Korean Shamanism in and around Seoul for 10 months. I collected data including firsthand observation and extensive recording of shamanistic beliefs and practices, and organized the data in the form of case studies. These data, Suh's and my own, will be described and

analyzed according to Heiler's categories to understand better contemporary Korean Shamanism.

The World of Religious

Phenomena of Contemporary Korean Shamanism

Sacred Natural Objects

Mountains. Mountains are considered as places of the deities, thus useful for prayer and contemplation (Heiler 1961:36-37). Like Mircea Eliade says, shamans meet the deities in the cosmic mountain (1964:270). In contemporary Korean Shamanism, mountains have special significance for meeting Sansin (the mountain god), praying to him and getting divine power from him.

Mountains are the dwelling places of the mountain god in Korean Shamanism. The first shaman, Dangun, the founder of the Korean nation, was born and raised in Mt. Taebek. He built the nation in Mt. Taebek where the Heavenly Prince, his father, descended (Lee 1981:19). After he died, it was believed that he became the mountain god. Thus, several mountains serve as sacred places for the mountain god. For instance, there is Sansindang (a sacred place for the mountain god) in Mt. Samgak in Seoul that I visited (Noh 1997a:64-66).

To Korean shamans, mountains are generally considered as places where they go to meet the mountain god for revival of their souls and regaining of divine power. Shamaness Sunhee Ahn went to Mt. Guerong for prayer to the mountain god. She said,

whenever she went to mountains, she felt good and received the vision and the divine power of divination from the mountain god (Noh 1997a:107). After finishing a 100-day prayer, Hangyong Mo, a shaman, met the mountain god in Mt. Chenma and received his divine power to heal the people. He regularly goes to mountains for prayer (Suh 1992b:12-17).

For contemporary Korean Shamanism, mountains are dwelling places and meeting places of the mountain god.

Water. The sacredness of water is also part of a common religious belief shared by Korean Shamanism. When I observed a *Kut* ritual, water was used for purification of the altar at the first *gori* (ceremonial step). A woman shaman took a cup of water and sprinkled it around the altar in order to remove the unclean spirits and cleanse the altar (Noh 1997a:3). By using water, shamans purify themselves by cleansing their bodies before prayer in mountains and a *Kut* ritual (Suh 1993a:185-186).

Water is closely connected with life, fertility, and healing (Heiler 1961:39). Water is primarily a fertility symbol, particularly the symbol of desiring the conception of a child. Most Korean Shamans and some of their clients dedicate water to gods for healing and blessing on a daily basis (Suh 1993a:180-183).

Water is considered as the best sacrificial offering to gods. During the initiation process of the shaman, shamans dedicate cold water to their gods on the altar. Dedication of

cold water is more than a mere offering. It is the offering of themselves to the deities (Lee 1981:180-181).

They believe that water has the meaning of death and a return to life. In their journey to the world of the dead in their dreams, they come across the water that is like sea or rivers. Water means to them "death," but it is also the returning to the water of "mother's womb" and "reviving the real life." Shamaness Jungyeon Lee experienced it in her dream that she came across the river by taking a ship (Suh 1993c:144). Shamaness Boksoon Lee came over the sea taking *Geobooki* (a turtle) and received a cup of living water from a god who controls the world of the dead. She was not allowed to give it to those who were thirsty in hell (Suh 1993c:124-128). During the *Kut* ritual for ancestors, shaman Wansoo Kim made a ship for taking ancestors' spirits to the world of the dead (Suh 1993b:259).

In sum, water is the symbol of purification, fertility, healing, death and regeneration in contemporary Korean Shamanism.

Fire. As fire has become a part of many religions, fire has a significant role in contemporary Korean Shamanism. Like other religions, fire has a twofold meaning (Heiler 1961:43). First, it casts away evil spirits or harmful power. In the case of *Sichim Kut* (*Kut* for the dead), shamans burn the effigy and the clothes of the dead together as symbols of cleansing the soul of the dead with fire (Lee 1981:122). Candles that are lighted with

fire during the Kut ritual mean casting out evil spirits (Suh 1993a:226). Second, it is the source of warmth, light and life. Fire is taken as a positive symbol of the nature of deity who gives light and life. Shamaness Kyungja Choi felt ecstasy when she met a god and felt warmth of fire in her dream (Suh 1993a:42-43). I saw two candles burning on the altar placed before a sacred picture and Buddha statues in Samgak mountain (Noh 1997a:64-65). Burning candles symbolizes for many shamans respecting deity. Fire is seen as manifestation of deity (Suh 1992b:42).

Sun, Moon and Stars. The sun, the moon, stars and heaven are religiously significant phenomena for the religious cult. Primal people believe that the sun is the source of life. The moon is related to motherhood or the mother god. The stars are considered as divine beings. And heaven is the manifestation of deity (Heiler 1961:51-64).

Shaman Hangyong Mo and his wife Kyidal Park who are well known in Seoul believe that they are the sun and the moon as the heavenly father and heavenly mother (Suh 1992b:19-20,47). They believed that they can protect people from darkness, illness and evil spirits of night (Suh 1992a:54). They have a picture of the sun and the moon behind the altar at their house. Shamaness Nabi saw the sun which had a smile during her prayer time in a mountain (Suh 1992a:17). Shamaness Sunhee Ahn swallows the god of the sun in her dream (Noh 1997a:107). Shaman Jeewan Lee

swallowed the sun and the moon in his dream (Suh 1992a:182). Many shamans whom I interviewed revere the 7 stars of the Big Dipper as the god of childbirth and protecting children by dedicating some food and water (Noh 1997a:104-108).

Heaven. The faith in "heaven" is a universal belief that contemporary Korean Shamanism shares with many religions. Koreans like other religious people regard heaven as the highest deity and a manifestation of deity (Heiler 1961:62). In Korean language, heaven is *hanul* that can mean "big egg" (Suh 1993a: 52). There are several myths regarding founders of ancient nations like Kokurye, Silla and Karaguk in Korean history. They were born from "eggs" that are traced to heaven and they were sons of heaven. To Koreans, heaven has the ability to produce the divine people. The high god of Korea, *Hananim* is closely connected with the word "heaven" (*Hanul*), a term which has been personified. "Heavenly God" is the highest deity of contemporary Korean Shamanism (Noh 1997a:109; Suh 1992a:18).

Light. Fire, sun, stars and the heaven all combine to make light a hierophany of the divinity. Light is a commonly acknowledged symbol of deity (Heiler 1961:64). In contemporary Korean Shamanism, shamans experience light when they became *Mudang*. In their altars, candles are always lighted, because light represents the presence of divinity (Noh 1997b:12-29; Suh 1992a:152). Shaman Mo heals the sick with the power of light

when he lays his hand on the painful parts of the sick (Suh 1992b:42).

Trees. Tree stands for a hierophany of the sacred revealing the mystery of growth and decay, of living and dying (Heiler 1961:67). In contemporary Korean Shamanism, tree has been venerated as a deity. As I visited a shamanistic altar in Samgak mountain, I saw people who bowed and prayed before the tree that was decorated with several colorful clothes to a tree god (Noh 1997a:65). Even the branches of trees bear sacredness within themselves.

I participated in a *Kut* ritual for the purpose of national reunification and security. During the ritual, a tree was put in the middle of the ground that is connected to the main building and a pillar with red, white, blue and yellow bands of cotton cloth (Noh 1997a:2). As Eliade says, the tree used in the *Kut* ritual becomes the cosmic tree which is the way to heaven from the earth (Eliade 1964:270). In contemporary Korean Shamanism, it is believed that deities come to the earth through the tree. Thus, shamans plant trees around their houses and put a bamboo tree before their houses. "Village tree" (*Dang Namu*) is a deity for the village as well as the way of communicating with deities in heaven (Suh 1993b:243). As in many other religious traditions, trees always exist in heaven. Shaman Jarong Cho saw a tree of life that bore many fruits in his dream going to the other world (Suh 1996:102).

Flowers, Fruits, and Breads. Korean shamans like flowers and fruits. They saw many flowers and fruits in their dreams. Since they experienced lack of love in this world, they hope they would have loving relationships with their gods in the other world. So, they believe that the other world is the world of life abundant with flowers and fruits (Suh 1993a:90-95). Professor Suh, who interviewed around 3,000 shamans, and I realized that every shaman put flowers and fruits on the altars without exception (Suh 1993a:93; Noh 1997b:103-108). Since flowers and fruits have seeds, the symbol of life, they stand for love, regeneration, and hope in contemporary Korean Shamanism.

Animals, Reptiles, and Birds. Animals that serve as totems are respected and regarded as sacred in human history and prehistory. Particular animals like the bear and the tiger are not hunted or killed and form a special relationship with groups or individual humans (Heiler 1961:77-78). In contemporary Korean Shamanism, particular animals like tiger, large snake, dragon, and bird are respected as manifestations of the sacred. These animals are symbolic and appear in dreams and visions as images of regeneration, power, and love.

Shamanistic sacred places where I visited had altars behind which were shamanistic pictures on the wall. Every picture had three elements of contents such as an old man with white hair and beard, a pine tree, and a tiger (Noh 1997a:65-66). The tiger is venerated as a mountain god. Shamans, who are controlled by the

mountain god, like the tiger, like to eat raw meat and sometimes cry out like a tiger (Suh 1993b:304).

Shamans love birds because they want to be free from this world and to escape to heaven. They believe they should become birds after this world (Suh 1992b:204). A shamaness who lives in Buan city in Korea divines with the voice of the bird. In her dream, she gets new wings and becomes a bird. She sits on a tree and flies to the mountain (Suh 1992a:128-129).

Namsoon Kim, shamaness, felt good when she met sacred animals like a white horse and a large snake (Suh 1993a:114-120). A white horse seems to be regarded as an angel of the sun and a large snake is a symbol of productivity (Suh 1992b:193-196; 1993a:48).

Artifacts Sacred

Traditional Military Spear and Sword. The divinities communicate with humans through the images and objects which humans have made (Heiler 1961:97). Weapons like the spear and the sword have been regarded as sacred in contemporary Korean Shamanism. These weapons are the symbols of powerful deities who can protect people from evil spirits or unclean ghosts. I saw a shamaness holding the traditional spear and sword as she played a role as a *Kunung* (the Spirit of the Great General) (Noh 1997a:4).

Military Flags. The flag is the sign of the presence of the Deity (Heiler 1961:100). Contemporary Korean Shamanism shares fully in all the profound symbolism of the flags. In the stage

of *Sinjang* (the Military Spirit) or *Taegam* (The Great Overseer), the shaman uses military flags of green, blue, yellow, red and navy blue (Noh 1997a:5). During the *Kut* ritual, the shaman employs military flags to try to select some participants by pointing to them. When the selected people choose a flag among five flags, the shaman blesses them in the name of *Sinjang* (the Military Spirit).

Drums, Ching (a small gong), Fan and Hand Bells. These instruments are used in *Kut* rituals for pleasing the good spirits and exorcising the evil spirits. The drum is used primarily by the male shaman during the recital of sacred words. Seven small bells, about the size of a chestnut, are clapped together to make a sound. *Ching* (small gong) is an instrument for calling the spirits to the ritual (Lee 1981:88-89). Shamaness Oksoon Park held a fan and hand bells and asked that a good spirit might come and have a rest (Suh 1993b:194). Shaman Sungjoo Ko saw hand bells and *Ching* (small gong) given by a divinity and found the same hand bells as the god told him in his dream (Suh 1993c:191). I observed that these drums, ching, fan, and hand bells were used by shamans in the *Kut* ritual in which I participated in Namsan mountain in Seoul (Noh 1997a:2-5).

Images and Pictures. Images which may be of stone, wood, bronze or other metals display human or anthropomorphic traits of the divinity (Heiler 1961:106). I saw Taoist or Buddhist statues that were decorated with gold, when I visited one particular

sacred place of contemporary Korean Shamanism in Samgak mountain (Noh 1997a:64). Usually, shamans do not use these images on their altars. Only some of them who are influenced by Buddhism like to put these images on their altars.

Every altar, however, does have a picture of the shamanistic divinities (Noh 1997b:11-26). It includes *Sansin* (mountain god) with a tiger, *Chilseong* (gods of seven stars), *Obangsin* (deities of the five directions), *Chesok* of three Buddhas (the kings of heavens), *Mama* (the spirit of smallpox), *Kunung* (the spirit of the great general), *Ilwolsin* (deity of the sun and the moon), *Pyolsang* (star of the other world), *Yonghwang* (the dragon king), *Choi Young Changun* (Choi Young general). Some shamans, however, who are influenced by Buddhism, prefer to use pictures which have many Buddhist images like Bodhisattvas.

Sacred Dress. Clothing may become sacred and has played a prominent role in contemporary Korean Shamanism. By putting on the specific clothing, shamans are believed to attain their sacred power. Korean shamans wear several kinds of clothes according to each stage of the *Kut* ritual (Lee 1981:193-200). Shamans' various garments in a *Kut* ritual are as follows: at the stage of *Sansang* (mountain spirit), a shaman wore red uniform of the traditional military general over the deep blue dress with a red hat; at the stage of *Pyolsang* (the star god of the other world), a shaman put on the blue clothes and green uniform of the

military general; at *Chesok* (the king of heavens) stage, a shaman wore a white scarf on the head and a long white robe in a Buddhist way; at *Kunung* (the spirit of the great general) stage, a shaman put on the red uniform of the general and the red hat of tiger's fur; at *Malmyong* (the mother spirit of the dead) stage, a shaman wore the yellow dress; and at *Changbu* (the spirit of actors) stage, a shaman put on the multi-color dress (Noh 1997a:4-5).

In the case of sacred dress in contemporary Korean Shamanism, we can notice that there are sacred colors including white, red, blue, green, yellow, and color combinations. In many respects, as Heiler indicates, white may be regarded as the basic color of light, of eternity, of purity, and holiness. Red has been associated with sacrificial blood, the sun and fire that would ward off evil powers. Blue is connected with the sky, Green is the color of vegetation and fertility, and yellow is the color of gold (1961:122-126).

Sacred Space

Sacred objects are closely associated with sacred space (Heiler 1961:128). In contemporary Korean Shamanism, there are sacred places such as the house of shamans and the special worship places.

The House of Shamans. Until modern times, each home was used by Koreans as a shrine. Sacred objects were often placed on the wall. The house was often enclosed, hedged or fenced.

Presently, the traditional value of the external manifestation has gone, but the internal spirit goes on. In the case of contemporary Korean Shamanism, inside of the house is still a sacred place. Shamans and their followers take off their "profane" shoes right before entering the house. All of my interviewees, who are shamans, had a special sacred room having the altar in which they met clients and made divinations (Noh 1997a:104-109).

The Special Worship Places. All of those I interviewed believed that their deities are present in the special sacred worship places. Usually, shamans have special worship places where their deities dwell near their living room. Many shamans hope that they will have special places where they may practice the *Kut* ritual (Noh 1997a:106-108).

In Samkak mountain in Seoul, there are three special sacred worship places I visited where *Kut* rituals are conducted. These were Chenjedang (place for heavenly king), Sansindang (place for mountain god), and Chensindang (place for heavenly god) which are well known places to shamanistic followers. Shamans and followers believe the sacred worship places to be the houses of deities in which they are able to receive blessing and grace from their deities. When I visited these places, I observed three or four people who prepared themselves to meet deities by bowing and silent prayer during a shaman practiced a *Kut* ritual (Noh 1997a:64-66).

The Altar. The shamanistic sacred place has an altar, which is a three-story wooden table or a simple table on which two or three candles and incense burners are laid and fruits, food, and flowers are offered. Shamaness Keumjee Jung has a typical three story altar. At the lowest table are small statues of deities she serves. She offers to deities incense and lights, cigarettes and alcoholic drinks, a bowl of rice, and bills of money. On the second table is her mainly-served deity figure, the mountain god. On the third table are pictures of several deities. Under the altar is a small table on which several kinds of shamanic instruments such as a drum, a gong, rice, and a small hand bells are placed (Noh 1997a:105).

Shamaness Sunhee Ahn has the altar with three story tables. At the lowest table, she offers incense to deities. The second table has candle lights, many dishes of fruits, and alcoholic drinks. On the third table is a small plaster figure of an old man deity carrying a big tiger (Noh 1997a:107). To most contemporary Korean shamans, the altar is a more sacred space than the wider area of the special sacred place in contemporary Korean Shamanism (Noh 1997b:25).

Sacred Time

Just as sacred space is separate from the profane, so also some elements of time are considered more sacred than others (Heiler 1961:150-151). In contemporary Korean Shamanism, the first day of the year *Seolnal* (the very beginning day of the

year), the 15th day of August *Chuseok* (Korean thanksgiving day) and the fifth day of May *Danoh* (the brightest day of the year) according to the lunar calendar, are the sacred times of the year. They practice a big *Kut* ritual for national security and people's prosperity on these sacred days even though they do not celebrate the whole traditional agricultural festivals (Suh 1992b:13).

There are also many kinds of sacred time in which shamans pray to their spirits: early in the morning, a whole day and night, three days and nights, seven days and nights, 21 days and nights, and 100 days and nights. Around midnight or early morning is the special sacred time to contemporary Korean shamans when they pray to their gods and receive and renew spiritual power (Suh 1993c:77-78).

Sacred Action

The broad field of shamanistic sacred action will be discussed in terms of three stages: Purification (the act of the cleansing ceremony), Sacrifice (the act of offering to deities) and Unification (the act of union with deities).

Purification. Water is important for purification as a substance which cleanses from sin and pollution in the same way as it washes away material dirt (Heiler 1961:186). Contemporary Korean shamans used water for purification of the altar by taking a cup of water and sprinkling it around the altar in order to remove the unclean spirits and cleanse the altar (Noh 1997a:3).

Drums or bells are also used in contemporary Korean Shamanism for driving away dangerous powers and evil spirits. When I participated at "*Tongil Giwon Daeje*" (a Great Kut Ritual for Reunification of Korea) at Namsan Mountain in Seoul on the 19th day of April in 1997, the evil and dangerous powers or spirits were driven away through making sounds or noises with drums or bells like *Chaekum* (a brass instrument) and *Ching* (small gong). These noises or sounds of such instruments are believed to be like sounds of thunderstorm or gods which can expel evil spirits (Suh 1992a:90-91).

Like other religious sacred actions, lighting of a fire was used for casting away evil spirits or harmful power in contemporary Korean Shamanism. In the case of *Sichim Kut* (Kut for the dead), shamans burn the effigy and the clothes of the dead together as symbols of cleansing the soul of the dead with fire (Lee 1981:122). Lighting candles and burning incense have significant meaning for casting out evil spirits and attracting good spirits.

Fasting is another form of sacred action for purification in contemporary Korean Shamanism. There are two kinds of fasting: complete fasting and abstaining from particular foods and drinks, especially meat and fish. During prayer time for several days, shamans only eat raw grains of rice like birds (Suh 1993b: 231). Shamans' fasting has purpose to drive away harmful powers of evil.

Like other religions, abstaining from sexual intercourse or chastity is a final form of purification in contemporary Korean Shamanism (Heiler 1961:198-199). Shamans try to maintain chastity after they have spirit lords. For shamans, the spirits whom they serve are their final lovers (Suh 1992b:118-125). Even though they are married it is required for shamans to remain chaste on the night before the celebration of the *Kut* ritual. For them, the *Kut* ritual is the expression of the love between spirits and themselves.

Sacrifice. Sacrificial offering is regarded as an essential element of religion and the forms vary within religions (Heiler 1961:204). In contemporary Korean Shamanism, it is believed that gift and food sacrifices open up a channel of communication between the profane world of human beings and the world of the spirit for these make spirits glad and ensure continued favors. Money is especially regarded as the best offering to spirits in contemporary Korean Shamanism (Suh 1992b:105-107). In *Kut* rituals, shamans expect or request participants to offer money to spirits on their altar (Noh 1997a:3-5). Some shamans prefer to walk around people and urge them for offerings. Some clients offer their real money, a bill of 1,000 or 10,000 won, directly to the altar, some hand it over to shamans, some put it into the mouth of a dead pig, and some attach it to candles. Within the system of contemporary Korean Shamanism, money means love (Suh 1992b:106-107). Their desire to get love from spirits is

expressed by offering money that spirits like. Shamanistic believers expect that the money offering is the best channel by which to get blessings and love from spirits. The money offered to spirits is distributed to shamans, assistant shamans, and owners of shamanistic sacred places for their living (Ch'oe 1990:188).

Unification. The sense of union with the deity is the deepest desire of human beings who seek reality and truth (Heiler 1961:230). The sense of union or communion with the spirits can be felt through touching in contemporary Korean Shamanism. When shamaness Kyungsoon Kang touched the sick parts of the patients, she felt and saw the light from heaven coming into the patients (Suh 1993c:34-37). Shaman Hangyong Mo has ability to heal people with the spirit of the sun. He laid his hand on the head of the patients for healing (Suh 1992b:42-43). The use of the imposition of hands is not widespread in contemporary Korean Shamanism.

The *Naerim Kut* (The Initiation Ritual)⁸ is a rite of unification or consecration of shamans that involves a transmission of sacredness or spirit presence. It communicates lasting power and sacredness to shamans. Shaman Jarong Cho, so called the master of *Naerim Kut*, said that *Naerim Kut* is a kind of skill to find out the reality of spirits and to appease them with the offering of food, clothes, music and dance (Suh 1996:96-97). According to my interviewee, shaman Junyoung Lee, during

his *Naerim Kut*, he performed a dance vigorously to acquire the spiritual power from spirits. When he experienced ecstasy, he made a speech to express his religious experience with the spirit of a traditional General at the *Naerim Kut* (Noh 1997a:106).

The goal of sacred dance is the experience of unification with deities and divine power and it is more important than sacrifice for traditional peoples (Heiler 1961:239-240). In contemporary Korean Shamanism, the sacred dance of shamans is performed in *Kut* rituals for the purpose of warding off sickness, hunger, storms, floods, harmful powers of evil spirits (Noh 1997a:4-5). It appeases good spirits in order to ensure the security of community, to make the crops grow, and to bring rain. Shamans also do ecstatic dance to dissolve away the barrier between this world and the next.

Lastly, sexual unification with the deity is based on the nature of the sexual act and its connection with fruitfulness or fertility. Over thousands of years agricultural rites enacting a symbolic sexual union with the deity have shown the importance of these motifs in the history of religions (Heiler 1961:243-244). Through visions or dreams, shamans would feel sexual union with their deities in contemporary Korean Shamanism. They feel that they have sacred marriages with their spirit lords. Shamaness Whaja Cho has erotic experiences with her spirit lords like the traditional Korean General, the Chinese General, and even the American General Douglas McArthur (Suh 1992a:228-230). Shaman

Cheolae Cho likes to make up his face and to put on female underwear and clothes, even though he is male. In his dream, he becomes a woman and has sexual relationship with his spirit lords (Suh 1992b:118-119).

The Sacred Word From the Deity

The word becomes sacred through association with a sacred person, sacred action, sacred space or sacred time (Heiler 1961:266). In Shamanism, speaking with words has significant meaning, because the root of "shaman" is "sam" in Tungus and Manchu which means "the word" (Suh 1993a:301). The shaman is a mediator between gods and people with the divine words. In a Korean word, shaman is "*Mudang*" that means "a person who asks something to the gods" (Suh 1993a:301). A Korean shaman asks the gods about the future and fortune; and he or she gets answers from the gods and divines on behalf of the people.

Singing and Chanting. Speech song is used in contemporary Korean Shamanism. During *Kut* rituals, shamans sing various speech songs in order to appease spirits (Noh 1997a:5). Chanting and the monotoned recitations of Buddhist texts are used in contemporary Korean Shamanism. In particular *Kut* rituals such as *Sichim Kut* (*Kut* for the dead), shamans usually invite a "*Bubsa*" (a Buddhist teacher) who can recite a portion of Buddhist texts. The *Bubsa* is usually associated with shamans who practice *Kut* rituals. For shamanic followers as well as Buddhists believe that demons and evil spirits are driven out by reciting Buddhist

texts (Park 1997:114-115). When I visited a shamanic place Sansindang (sacred place for mountain god) in Samgak mountain, a Balsa recited Buddhist Sutra beating a drum (Noh 1997a:65).

Kongsoo or Aneunsori. Shamans receive Kongsoo (oracle) or Aneunsori (divination) from their gods on behalf of people who participate in Kut. The Kongsoo and Aneunsori have special tones and form that seem to be like murmuring or muttering superficially, but it has its meaning and contents regarding methods of resolving family, health and wealth problems (Suh 1992a:259-260). When I observed a private Kut ritual for welfare and prosperity of a family at Cheonsindang located in Samgak mountain in Seoul, the shaman gave a client Kongsoo (oracles) that her family would have good fortune and bad things would not happen (Noh 1997a:66). People consider these the word forms from the gods.

Sacred Language. The tendency to separate the sacred and the profane led toward the rise of whole sacred languages (Heiler 1961:270). Contemporary Korean Shamanism uses sacred languages like Kosrae (wishing good health and blessing) or Saetani (sound of birds). Shamans shout Kosrae for wishing health and blessing in the Kut ritual. Shamans who experience possession by a baby god give Saetani, a sound of birds, during their divinations (Suh 1992a:194-195,270).

The Sacred Word To the Deity

Wordless Prayer. Contemporary Korean Shamans like to go to mountains for prayer overnight or for several days and nights. Shaman Hangyong Mo went to Taebak Mountain and prayed for 21 days and nights. His prayer was wordless prayer. For 21 days and nights, he fasted and prayed. During this time of prayer on a wide rock, he had a dream or a vision from mountain spirits who gave him divine healing power (Suh 1992b:67,126-128). Many shamans want to go to mountains regularly whenever they feel themselves powerless or unclean (Noh 1997b:11-26).

Invocation. The beginning part of each stage of the *Kut* ritual at Namsan mountain that I observed included an invocation prayer (Noh 1997a:2-5). The invocation was to shamanistic spirits, the *Sansang* (the mountain spirit), the *Taegam* (the great overseer), the *Bulsa* (the heavenly Buddha), the *Sinjang* (the spirit of military officer), and the *Daesin* (the spirit of great grandmother). This invocational prayer was given to spirits with complete trust in their mercy and power protecting people from evil spirits and power.

Compulsive prayer. During the *Kut* ritual, shamans make compulsive prayer (urging or forcing of spirits to do something by their prayers) towards evil spirits or demons who are regarded to be dangerous and hostile. The compulsive prayer has a double significance: removal, keeping away and banning of the spirits; or attracting, compelling, rewarding and appeasing them (Heiler

1961:314). The beginning of the *Kut* ritual at Namsan mountain that I observed included a compulsive prayer (Noh 1997a:2-5). A shaman made compulsive prayer such as "I cast out several demons and evil spirits and I invite good spirits such as our ancestor spirits, heavenly spirits, earthly spirits, and ocean spirits in order to bring peace and security to our nation" (Noh 1997a:3).

Sacred Writings

Bujeok (Amulet or Charm). The written words are sacred and powerful as well as the oral words in many religions that have begun as oral traditions (Heiler 1961:339-341). Contemporary Korean Shamanism is still following oral traditions. The stories of gods and myths are transmitted to shamans from generation to generation by oral traditions.

However, contemporary Korean shamans write on their client's amulet or charm letters that are believed to have magical and supernatural power to heal and protect people from evil spirits (Noh 1997a:103-106). The magic letters are placed at the entrance of the house or rooms in order to prevent the intrusion of evil spirits. The charms or amulets are depicted with deformed Chinese characters that serve as symbols of tree, stone, military weapons, thunder and lightening spirits. They represent also protection from evil spirits and carry wishes like healing from various diseases, harmony between husband and wife, peace at home, richness and honor, easy delivery, no accident at house

construction, happiness of the newly wedded family. These symbols are drawn on India papers with Indian ink (Lee 1981: 187-192). The shamanistic clients even like to have charms or amulets on parts of their bodies and objects that they used everyday, because they believe that these symbols possess mysterious power over the evil spirits.

Sacred Person

In contemporary Korean Shamanism, it is shamans who represent a form of sacredness. Shamans are believed to be sacred because they possess powers of divination and sorcery, healing, and communication with the spirit world (Heiler 1961:371). They exercise the role of mediator between the people and the powers of the spirit world. They not only deliver the oracles of spirits but also provide individual care through personal conversations. Shamans believe firmly that they receive the supernatural power of healing and prediction from spirits which thus attracts people or shamanic followers to visit shamans (Noh 1997a:94; 1997b:5-29). Thus, they have the mission to use their power and to heal the sick and to solve the problems of people and the nation (Suh 1992a:261-2; 1993b:35).

Sacred Community

Contemporary Korean Shamanism includes the sacred community of shamans and followers. Shamanistic clients have fellowship with shamans. They support shamans' needs in everyday life with money in exchange for service. Shaman Yongjae Lee has about 10

clients who regularly need his consultation or divination and support him with money (Noh 1997a:103). Shamaness Kwankyung Kim insists that those who supported her received blessing from spirits, but those who hated or bothered her got diseases or became involved in car accidents (Suh 1993c:103-104).

There have been many associations of shamans throughout Korean history. The first association of shamans can be traced to a fellowship group of shamans in 1784 in which they worshipped spirits and had fellowship with one another (Tae-Gon Kim 1995:455). This fellowship was developed into a national association of shamans named "Association of Shamans" in 1920 in order to survive the Japanese suppression. After that, many shamanistic associations occurred. These include: Kyojeonghoi (Association of Revision), Sungwhahoi (Association of Sanctification), Youngsinhoi (Association of Spirit Beings), and Whangjo-kyungsin-jongsinhoi (Association of Worshipping Spirits). Of the many shamanistic associations, Kyungsinhoi, founded in 1970, is the largest association of shamans established in order to recover Korean Shamanism as the national religion once again. It has over 200,000 shaman members and an institute where shaman candidates learn methods and skills of the *Kut* ritual (Donga Ilbo [Asia Daily News] 4 January 1997). When I visited the main training center of Kyungsinhoi, I saw a group of people who practiced shamanistic dancing and use of the traditional musical instruments (Noh 1997a:64).

The World of Religious Concepts

The Deities

According to Tae-Gon Kim, a famous scholar of Korean Shamanism, 273 different kinds of gods or spirits exist in Korean Shamanism (1995:280-285). These gods can be subdivided into natural gods and human gods as follows:

1. Natural gods or spirits as follows:
 - 1) the heavenly gods such as sky or high god (*Chunsin*, *Jaesuk*, *Samhawang*, or *Dodang*), the god of the sun (*Haesin*), the god of the moon (*Dalsin*), the god of stars (*Chilsungsin*) and etc.
 - 2) the earthly gods such as the god of soil (*Tosin*), the god of ground (*Tejoo* or *Tejoo Daegam*) and etc.
 - 3) mountain gods (*Sansin*)
 - 4) road gods (*Rosin* or *Georisin*)
 - 5) the god of the sea (*Soojin* or *Yongsin*)
 - 6) fire gods (*Whasin* or *Whajoosin*)
 - 7) the god of the wind (*Poongsin*)
 - 8) tree gods (*Moksin* or *Soopulsin*)
 - 9) stone gods (*Suksin*)
 - 10) five direction gods (*Obangsin*)
 - 11) gate gods (*Soomunsin*)
 - 12) gods of the divine generals (*Sinjang*)
 - 13) demons (*Dokaebi* or *Jabkwi-jabsin*)
 - 14) hades gods (*Siwangin* or *Okudaesin*)
 - 15) disease gods (*Sonimsin* or *Hogusin*)
 - 16) animal gods (*Majoosin* or *Bakhosin*)
 - 17) agricultural gods (*Ogoksisin*)
 - 18) birth gods (*Samsin*)
2. Human gods belong to the category of human dead spirits or ancestor spirits and spirits of cultural heroes like kings and queens and traditional military generals including Chinese and American generals.
 - 1) gods of kings including queen or princess goddess
 - 2) the gods of the military generals
 - 3) the gods of high officers
 - 4) the gods of female such as housewives or brides
 - 5) the gods of shamans' ancestors
 - 6) Buddhist gods
 - 7) Taoist gods
 - 8) common human gods.

Contemporary Korean shamans commonly believe that shamanistic spirits control human affairs of birth, death, curse, and blessing. The gods are likely to be pleased by offerings of clients; and shamans actively take control to manipulate the spirit beings (Suh 1993b:145,193; Tae-Gon Kim 1995:286-288).

Evil Spirits and Demons

In contemporary Korean Shamanism, people believe in evil spirits of the earth and forest, in spirits of the dead who wander about without rest, and partly in evil powers causing sickness and disease. They also believe that with the aid of ancestor spirits and good spirits of nature like heaven, earth, mountain, sea, and benevolent human spirits like heroes, kings, military generals, they can overcome the fearful actions of demons and the power of evil spirits (Suh 1993b:105,118,145).

Reconciliation

In contemporary Korean Shamanism, the way of liberation from evil powers and sickness is related to reconciliation between spirits and human beings. They believe that the causation of all sickness and disasters comes from the broken relationship between spirits and human beings. They understand a recovering of harmonious and loving fellowship with their spirits by the *Kut* ritual is the best way of reconciliation (Suh 1993c:250-252).

Eternal Life

Contemporary Korean Shamanism has a belief in a continuation of life after death. Following traditional thought, they expect

that the soul is separated from its present body and enters into another place, called *Jeseung* (the other world) where the heavenly king and ancestors dwell and living water flows, and living tree and flowers exists (Suh 1993c:124-130).

The World of Contemporary Korean Shamanistic Experiences

Basic Forms

Han. *Han* is a Korean term used to describe the depths of human suffering by oppression and injustice (Park 1993:174-176). It is not a single feeling but includes many feelings such as frustration, the collapsed feeling of pain, "letting go" feeling, resentful bitterness, regret, resignation, aggression, anxiety, loneliness, longing, sorrow, and emptiness (Park 1993:20; Jae Hoon Lee 1994:2). Shamans usually feel *Han* when they are coming into their vocation. The process of initiation is a cycle of resolution of *Han*. Shamans have *Han* from their family histories and their weak and sick bodies. Many shamans whom I interviewed were not well educated and had experiences of illness and divorce (Noh 1997a:103-109). They do not like to tell somebody what they are doing. Their children come to them and complain asking why they are doing this kind of shameful job because shamans are looked down upon in Korea even today (Suh 1992a:206-207).

Meaningfulness. While they are in *Kut* ritual, especially while healing the sick and encouraging people in the transitional time, they feel a sense of worth and meaningfulness in themselves (Suh 1993b:25- 26; 64-65). They recognize that they have a

special mission from the gods to heal and help those who are sick and are having problems in the family, work place, and nation (Suh 1993b:34-35).

Supranormal Forms

Visions and Auditions. Visions and auditions are frequent in contemporary Korean Shamanism. Shamans usually go to the spirit world and meet gods in their dreams or visions. They believe those kinds of experiences come from their gods in order to reveal their desire to act. They do divination which is based on their seeing, hearing, and feeling (Suh 1992b:211-214).

Ecstasy. Ecstasy is the most common experience of contemporary Korean Shamanism. Ecstasy is a supra-conscious psychical state in which shamans feel a oneness with the divine gods (Heiler 1961:554). As an image for the ecstatic experience of unity, contemporary Korean shamans commonly describe this feeling in terms of sexual union during their dreams (Suh 1992b:249).

Summary

Thus far, I have described the world of contemporary Korean Shamanism by examining several cases found in my own interviews and observations as well as examples from Suh's 6-volume work. And I have interpreted contemporary Korean Shamanism in terms of Heiler's phenomenological categories.

In this chapter, I found that contemporary Korean Shamanism is not a mere superstition but is a complete religious system. I

recognized that clients of shamans participating in *Kut* rituals or shamanic practices did not fully know or understand all of the myths, beliefs, and practices of Shamanism. The clients just trusted in the shaman's religious experiences and power to achieve their stated needs. Because of that, Shamanism is able to serve many groups of people including Buddhists, Confucianists, Christians, and even secularists who are "dual allegiance" oriented. As already seen in Chapter 1, the report of Hindol (White Rock) Mission Society in January 1997 revealed that 67.6% of the interviewees selected among Korean populations consulted shamans during the transition time and 59.7% of them relied on shamans' predictions or oracles. Paul Mission Society also reported that 70% of interviewees, 280 people among 400 people, kept shamanistic charms.

Shamanism also is attractive particularly to those folk Christians who have illness or problems. As noted previously from the research documented in a journal Bit gwa Sogeum (Salt and Light), 77% of interviewees had experienced contemporary Korean Shamanism even though they were Christians. And my field research revealed that about 50% of Christian interviewees held shamanistic beliefs and had participated in the practices. Especially, the fact that five of the shamans among the 37 whom I interviewed were former Christians and had determined that Christianity could not solve their illness or problems, helps to

explain the reason why Shamanism attracts syncretistic folk Christians.

No matter what service Shamanism provides to other religious people including folk Christians, it is a living religion and has the world of religious phenomena such as sacred objects, sacred space, sacred time, sacred action, sacred word, sacred writings, sacred person, and sacred community. It has the world of religious concepts including ideas about deities, evil spirits and demons, reconciliation, and eternal life. And it has the world of religious experience both in its normal and supranormal forms.

Therefore, analysis of phenomenological categories from Heiler and application of this to religious phenomena in contemporary Korean Shamanism will contribute to understanding it without any prejudices before applying theological and biblical evaluations.⁹ This process may influence Korean Christian leaders and believers to face the authentic religious dynamic within contemporary Korean Shamanism and enable them to respond to its spiritual challenge to Christianity.

Notes

1. During the 1990s, there have been several public Kut rituals such as "a Great Kut Ritual for Nation's Security and Peaceful Reunification" at the '88 Olympic Stadium in September, 1990, "a Kut Ritual for the Success of Daejeon Expo'93" on Four Street Park at Daejeon city, in February, 1993, "Seoul Kut" at Hongik University, in May, 1995, "Seoul Kut for Celebrating National Liberation Day" at Kyeong-Bok Palace, in September, 1995, "a Kut for the Nation's Peace and People's Security" at Yoido Square in October, 1995, "Jeongbal Mountain Community Kut" at Koyang City, in 1996, and "Palgong Mountain Kut" in Daegu city, in March, 1997 (The Korean National Society 1997:87,171, 187,257).

2. According to Eliade, Shamanism is not confined to Central and North Asia, but is a universal phenomenon. Throughout the chapters in his book, Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy, he tries to identify shamanistic aspects in North and South America, Southeast Asia, Oceania, and Indo-European countries, as well as in Central and North Asia.

3. According to Lewis, possession is believed to be both involuntary (or uncontrolled), and voluntary (or controlled). He regards only those who practice controlled possession, which is mastering spirits, as shamans (1971:32-58).

4. *Hwarangdo* was a religious and military training system of youth in the time of king Jinheung in the Silla kingdom. The king selected youths of outstanding talent to be national leaders. They were educated to control themselves, the spirits, and the people. They had five rules to keep: loyalty to the king, devotion to their parents, faithfulness to their friends, no retreat at a battlefield, and carefulness in killing living things (Ryu 1975:90-93).

5. *Palgwanhoe* was a Buddhist feast in which Buddhists tried to live an ascetic life as the Buddhist monks did just for a day and night. But the feast was far from the Buddhist meaning. People made sacrifices to shamanistic spirits for blessing and security as well (Ryu 1975:130-135).

6. The universe is an open system in which nature spirits and various spiritual beings are found everywhere in trees, rivers, hills, or other natural phenomena (Burnett 1990:59).

7. The altar for heavenly spirits consists of sweet meats, fresh fruits and nuts, as well as cooked rice. The altar dedicated to the earthly spirits will also have fruits, but the grains will be uncooked. The spirits of earth also demand cooked

vegetables and rice cakes along with uncooked grains and wine (Covell 1983:42-43).

8. *Naerim Kut* is the initiation ritual of Korean Shamanism. It belongs to the *Shin Kut* (the ritual for receiving gods) which is subdivided into two types, the initiation ritual and the usual ritual. The usual ritual is for a shaman to reinforce spiritual power, but the initiation ritual is for a shaman candidate to receive god's power initially (Tae-Gon Kim 1995:571).

9. This approach, however, has some limitations when applied to the work of missions. Even though it tries to determine and find the "real" or the essence of the religious phenomena, it can not discern or prove the truth of the religious phenomena (Gilliland 1979:455). Real phenomena to humans do not always belong to the category of the truth. Thus, from a perspective of missiology, theological and biblical discernment of the truth of phenomena is needed in my project.

Chapter 4

An Understanding of Contemporary Korean Christianity

In this chapter, I will describe contemporary Korean Christianity for better understanding of "dual allegiance" of contemporary Korean syncretistic folk Christians. It will be done on the basis of my field research and from the point of view of beliefs and practices in the field of phenomenology of religion. To do this project, I prefer to use the categories of phenomenology of Christianity as described by Peter McKenzie who has adapted the methodology from Friedrich Heiler's categories of phenomenology of religion (1988:1-7).

Before doing this project, for better understanding of many forms of contemporary Korean Christianity, a brief historical background of Korean Christianity is needed. Although the methodology of phenomenology of religion I use is largely ahistorical, however, its application does not deny or reject relevant historical facts for interpretation. And since Korea is monocultural, the diversity of context and history can be greatly reduced. Thus, I intend to develop a preliminary understanding of two contextual aspects that have led to the different kinds of forms within contemporary Christianity in Korea: the sociopolitical aspect and the religious aspect. The sociopolitical aspect influenced Koreans to follow Western Christendom (Shin 1986a:49; Mahn-Yeol Lee 1986:65), but the religious aspect led Koreans to make their own indigenous folk

Christianity or syncretistic folk Christianity (Shin 1986b:160-161; Chung 1986:186-204). Therefore, it appears that contemporary Korean Christianity has three forms: Western Christendom, indigenous folk Christianity, and syncretistic Christianity.

Two contextual aspects have led to the different kinds of forms within contemporary Christianity in Korea.

A Preliminary Understanding of Korean Christianity

Sociopolitical Aspect

Korean churches could not isolate themselves from the sociopolitical atmosphere that caused individual stress and cultural distortion (Min 1989:221). For instance, during the time of national weakness and personal insecurity, especially during the two periods of 1895-1914 and 1965-1980, the social and political unrest contributed greatly to Korean churches, rapid growth. Korean churches grew rapidly from 1895 to 1914; and the number of Protestant Christians increased from 530 to 26,057 (Min 1989:218). From 1965 to 1980, the number of Protestant Christians increased from 2,255,193 to 6,349,201 members (Mahn-Yeol Lee 1997:130; Rice 1982:250).

Two Periods of Social and Political Unrest

The Period 1895-1914. It is significant that Protestant Christianity came to Korea during the sociopolitical changes in the late nineteenth century.¹ Among the sociopolitical changes, the Gabo Peasant Revolution was the prominent event which

occurred against the official corruption and intolerable oppression of the central government. This fight, led by followers of *Tong-Hak*² (the Eastern Teaching), began to save the nation from internal corruption and the influence of foreign civilization and western religions (Lee 1967:14-28). The Gabo Peasant Revolution threatened the government by requesting the help of two rival nations, Japan and China. Japan defeated Chinese troops and finally put down the rebellion of Korean peasants.

Another event that resulted in the discontent and misery of the people was the Eulsa Treaty of the Protectorship in 1905 with which the Korean government lost its independence regarding foreign affairs and became a protectorate of Japan. Right after the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905, Japan deprived the kingdom of Korea of its diplomatic rights (Lee 1967:134). In 1910, Korea was annexed as a Japanese colony.

During this time of national weakness and personal insecurity, national independence and the expulsion of Japanese power from Korea became the main concern of the Korean people (Yong-Bok Kim 1983:88). These tragic events were the sociopolitical background of Korean church growth. This time of depression and insecurity made people join the Christian church which was identified with Western powers, and believe that modernization was able to save Korean people (Min 1989:221; Latourette 1969:448).³

The Period 1965-1980. In the 60s and 70s, Korean society changed from an agricultural society into an industrial society. People moved from villages to urban areas and met several problems of urbanization (Won-Gyu Lee 1994:54-55).

In the political arena, this period (1965-1981) was the time which began with a demonstration against the military regime and ended with a demonstration for democracy. The military regime led by General Jung-Hee Park started with an economic development policy. In 1969 and 1972, President Park tried to revise the constitution to allow for his long term regime. The Korean people resisted. Even though the regime of Park offered economic growth, it was as a result of sacrifices by the *Minjung* (Moon 1985:117). Another exceptional tragedy in Korean history was that about two thousand citizens of Guangjoo city were killed by the military army during their peaceful movement for democracy on May 18th, 1980.

During this political turmoil and economic exploitation of the people, the Christian churches were growing through the mass evangelistic revival movement. During that time, series of mammoth evangelistic crusades were held in Seoul: the National Evangelistic Movement in 1965, the Billy Graham Crusade in 1973, Explo '74, and '80 the World Evangelization Crusade (Lee 1990:118-121).

Motivations for Believing Christianity

During these times of sociopolitical pressures and changes,

Koreans responded to the Christian message. Even though there was real soul hunger as a motivation for believing Christianity and a real work of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of many people in the transitional situation, most people, who desired protection and power against Japanese colonialism, regarded Christianity as the religious movement that possessed the highest civilization, culture, and power to deliver Korea from Japanese control. They were seeking new Western culture and education in the church (Paik 1970:357).

To most people during the military regime and economic growth of the 60s and 70s, Christianity was the way of material success and "redemption and lift" of their social and economic status (McGavran 1990[1970]:210-211).⁴ Wealthy Christians appeared and many became middle-class people. They were seeking the material success and modernization in the church. In this way, Christianity was identified with Westernization and modernization.

Therefore, throughout Korean church history, the sociopolitical aspect influenced Koreans to follow Western Christendom because the church had a great role in Westernization or modernization within Korean society (Shin 1986a:49; Mahn-Yeol Lee 1986:65; Min 1989:221). Nowadays, however, Korean Christianity has been challenged; people do not need Christianity because they can be modernized without it. Korean churches need to distinguish what is Western from what is Christian.

Religious Aspect

Shamanistic Influences

Describing the religious aspect that has impacted Korean churches, Kenneth Scott Latourette assumes that a partial religious vacuum existed during the time of national weakness and personal insecurity in the late nineteenth century (1969:449). According to him, such a religious vacuum was filled by Christianity.

I, however, do not agree with him entirely, because there has been no time of religious vacuum within the private lives of religious people in Korean history. If Latourette is referring to the vacuum of public religion, there might be religious vacuum. But in the private world of religious individuals, Shamanism continued to affect Korean people who sought security from national weakness and personal instability. Shamanism, the primal religion of Korea, grew among the common people during that time of transition (Ro and Nelson 1983:166); most Koreans had become skeptical of their official religions like Buddhism and Confucianism. Therefore, Christianity came to Korea and Koreans received and understood the gospel, but it was within their shamanistic worldview, and this was the basis on which Western Christianity became rooted in Korea.

I believe this shamanistic worldview, as a hermeneutic frame for Koreans, contributed to the making of the contemporary indigenous folk Christianity in Korea. On the other hand, the

shamanistic worldview continues to influence folk believers who make "dual allegiance" both to Jesus Christ and to shamanic spirits which creates syncretistic folk Christianity.

Syncretism or Indigenization in Korean Churches

The shamanistic frame of reference as a religious background also impacted Korean Christians to have syncretistic features. In a broad sense, syncretism occurs whenever "a religion adopts selectively items from the new religion and culture reinterpreting them in terms of the old culture" (Burnett 1988:213). But, in a strict sense, syncretism should be divided into two sides: acceptable accommodation or indigenization (without losing its identity) and unacceptable syncretism (with synthesis or amalgamation of beliefs and worldviews in a negative sense) (Nida 1990:131; Tippett 1975:17; Burnett 1990:133-135).

As we have already seen, throughout history Korean Shamanism has adapted itself to other religions, and has become part of other religions such as Buddhism, Confucianism, and Christianity. In this way as well, Shamanism has been influential in forming a new Korean Christianity that is in fact infused with traditional shamanistic beliefs and practices. A number of practices such as all night prayer meetings, prayer meetings in prayer mountain centers, and concern for material blessings and physical healing have shamanistic concepts at their root (Son 1983:338-339). The New Year Blessing Worship has also a shamanistic influence, because a shamanistic ritual is usually held the first month of

the New Year in order to receive blessings from the spirits and to get the bad spirits away from the house (Tae-Gon Kim 1995:466).

Even though many features of Korean Churches are influenced by Shamanism, some specific practices or patterns found in prayer meetings in prayer mountain centers and revival meetings are not syncretistic but indigenous. Discernment whether those practices or patterns are syncretistic or indigenous will be done in Chapter 6 on the basis of religious studies, anthropology, and biblical and theological foundations. And evidence from my field research has clarified that indigenous folk Christians rely on the Holy Spirit, not shamanistic spirits. They have been converted from allegiance to spirits to allegiance to Jesus Christ. However, there also existed alongside syncretistic folk Christians who hold "dual allegiance" both to Jesus Christ and to shamanistic spirits.

In sum, I have tried to explain two fundamental aspects behind contemporary Korean Christianity. The sociopolitical changes during the time of national weakness and personal insecurity made Koreans follow the form of Western Christendom in order to receive the personal and sociopolitical protection recognized within Christianity in Korea. But the religious influence of Shamanism on Christianity led Koreans to make their own indigenous folk Christianity which keeps Christian identity or syncretistic folk Christianity which loses Christian identity.

Now, I shall try to describe contemporary Korean Christianity so that these may be understood phenomenologically.

A Phenomenological Understanding
of Contemporary Korean Christianity

In this section, I would like to discuss contemporary Korean Christianity from the point of view of beliefs and practices demonstrated widely from the field of phenomenology of religion. To do this project, I prefer to use the categories chosen for use by Peter McKenzie who has adapted the methodology from Friedrich Heiler's categories of phenomenology of religion for a text on phenomenology of Christianity (1988:1-7). Peter McKenzie sets out three major categories, like Friedrich Heiler did, as follows. The first category is the world of Christian phenomena such as sacred objects, sacred space, sacred time, sacred action, sacred word, sacred writings, sacred person, and sacred community. The second category is the world of religious concepts including ideas about deity, creation, revelation, salvation, and eternal life. And the third category is the world of religious experience both in its normal and supranormal forms (1988:3).

Using these categories, I will describe the beliefs and practices of contemporary Korean Christian churches in order to find the indigenous religious patterns in Korean Christianity.

In order to secure data for this project, I participated in revival meetings (Puheunghoi) and prayer meetings at prayer

mountain centers (*Kidowon Kidohoi*) as already has been indicated. Again, the following churches and prayer mountain centers were selected:

1. Prayer meetings:

"Friday Night Prayer Meeting" at Taewhasan Prayer Mountain Center, an ordinary prayer mountain center near Seoul, on May 2nd from 10:00 to 12:00 p.m.

"The Great Prayer Meeting for Receiving the Holy Spirit" at Osanri Prayer Mountain Center, the largest prayer mountain center near Seoul in Korea, on May 6th from 11:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m.

"Spring Prayer Meeting for Revival" at Haneolsan Prayer Mountain Center, the oldest prayer mountain center near Seoul in Korea, on May 19th from 7:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m.

2. Revival meetings:

"Spring Revival Meeting" at Keumran Methodist Church, the largest Methodist congregation in Korea (pastored by Hongdo Kim), from May 4th through May 8th from 7:30 p.m. to 9:30 p.m.

"Spring Revival Meeting" at Juan Presbyterian Church, the largest Presbyterian congregation in Korea (pastored by Kumil Nah), on May 27th, 7:30 p.m.; from May 28th to May 30th, at 5:00 a.m. 10:30 a.m. and 7:30 p.m., and on May 31st, at 5:00 a.m.

"Annual Revival Meeting" at Yoido Full Gospel Church, the largest church of the Assembly of God in Korea (pastored by Yonggi Cho), from August 13th through August 15th at 7:30 p.m.

Now, I will try to locate the central theme of contemporary Korean Christianity and explore its religious world with the aid of categories of phenomenology of religion. Detailed description of services is found in Appendix 4.3.

The World of Contemporary Korean Christian Phenomena

Sacred Natural Objects

Water. The sacredness of water is part of universal religious belief, and in this Korean Christians also share (McKenzie 1988:17). In Korean churches, water is used for baptism. As the Bible indicates (Genesis 2:14; Revelation 9:14; 22:1-2), water is a symbol of regeneration, life, revival, and healing.

I found at Osanri Prayer Mountain Center many people had a bottle of water which they were allowed to drink during fasting. However, they did not regard it as "holy water" which has magical power (Noh 1997a:56). In the sermon at Keumran Methodist Church, the main speaker emphasized that "since the living water is Jesus Christ who gives eternal life, Christians should experience Him with sincere prayer and lives" (Noh 1997a:54).

Heaven. Faith in "heaven" is a universal belief that Christians share with the whole of humankind (McKenzie 1988:23). To Koreans, heaven itself has proved a manifestation of Deity. Yoido Full Gospel Church has a huge sky blue color curtain that is hung behind the altar which appears to represent heaven. In churches and prayer mountain centers I visited, it appeared that believers preferred to use the term of "our Father in heaven" to "Yahweh." *Hananim*, Korean name of God, was derived from the word "heaven." They are using heaven to call the name of God, so they prefer "the Kingdom of heaven" to "the Kingdom of God" (Noh 1997a:48-110).

Mountains. Korean believers like to go to mountains for prayer, as biblical characters like Moses, Elijah, and Jesus went to mountains like Sinai, Horeb, and Gethsemane to meet God and pray (Exodus 19:3; 1 Kings 19:11; Matthew 26:36). Both Haneolsan Prayer Mountain Center, the oldest prayer mountain center, and Osanri Prayer Mountain Center, the largest prayer mountain center in Korea, provide public prayer service meetings four or five times a day including 5:00 or 6:00 a.m., 10:00 or 11:00 a.m., 2:00 or 3:00 p.m., 7:00 p.m. and Friday overnight prayer meetings in which several pastors and revivalists lead the meetings. All prayer meetings are similar in their order of service and include singing several hymns, loud prayers, and pastoral preaching. But the emphasis is different: 6:00 a.m. early morning prayer meetings are for piety; 11:00 a.m. morning prayer meetings are

for healing, 3:00 p.m. afternoon prayer meetings are for receiving the Holy Spirit, and 7:00 p.m. and overnight prayer meetings are for solving the daily problems. These two prayer mountain centers run shuttle buses from Seoul. Taewhasan Prayer Mountain Center, a ordinary prayer mountain center, has only Friday night prayer meetings for the public during Spring and Fall seasons and it provides from time to time rooms and facilities for special programs such as Youth retreats or Christian conferences. When I visited Osanri Prayer Center and Haneolsan Payer Center, I saw many Christian believers who fasted and prayed in the main sanctuaries even though it was an ordinary day. These prayer centers were built in mountains and especially Osanri Prayer Center has hundreds of personal prayer dens or very small rooms outside the main sanctuary made of cement in which people can pray alone day and night (Noh 1997a:56).

Animals and Nature. The animal and nature symbolism of Christianity seems generally to be absent in the Korean church. Although several churches have towers with the picture of lambs and of Jesus the Good Shepherd outside the main church buildings, in my observation, three churches I saw did not use animal or nature symbols in their sanctuaries. This kind of attitude toward animal and nature symbolism might be traced to their negative attitude toward their traditional religion, Shamanism, that has so much animal and nature symbolism.

Sacred Artifacts

The Empty Cross. Among all the sacred artifacts of Korean Protestant Christianity, the empty cross could be considered a central symbol for the faith of Jesus Christ, representing the atonement. When I was entering the sanctuaries at those churches and prayer mountain centers, I saw the empty cross on the back wall that reminded people of the suffering of the Lord. And I also saw crosses outside of those church buildings (Noh 1997a:70,110).

The Image and Icon. Christianity has shared fully in all the profound symbolism of the image (McKenzie 1988:36). Korean Protestant Christianity, however, has been opposed to images. The reason for that came from the theology of Reformation and the negative reaction to traditional religions like Confucianism, Buddhism, and Shamanism that have so many images. Korean Christians think that Christianity is different from other religions and superior to them.

Sacred Dress. Korean churches followed the tradition of Reformed Churches that adopted the Geneva or academic gown. Pastors usually wear black in autumn and winter and white in spring and summer. Kumil Na and Hongdo Kim wore the academic gown, but Yonggi Cho wore Western clothes that is regarded as formal dress to Koreans during the worship service. During revival meetings, pastors and main speakers did not wear the

formal academic gowns but the ordinary Western clothes with ties (Noh 1997a:50,70,110).

Sacred Space

The House and Home. Until modern times, the house was used as a shrine for Koreans. Sacred objects were often placed on the wall. The house was often enclosed, hedged or fenced. Presently, the traditional value has gone from the external aspect, but the internal spirit goes on. Inside of the house is still considered a sacred place, so people take off their "profane" shoes right before entering the house. To Korean Christians, the house is a sacred space for prayer and worship as well as living and dining space. Those churches that I visited have cell group meetings every Friday morning in the believers' homes (Noh 1997a:52, 70, 112).

The House of God. Korean Christians believe that God is present in his sacred place, the sanctuary. They believe the church to be the house of God in which they are able to receive his grace. So, they prefer to call the church a "holy temple." For them, the church is a different space from the street. Before the worship service, I observed many people preparing themselves to meet God with silent prayer (Noh 1997a:70). In those prayer mountain centers, people took their shoes off before entering the main sanctuary (Noh 1997a:48,56, 67).

In the revival meeting at Juan Presbyterian Church, the main speaker indicated that the human body was also the dwelling place

of God. But this emphasis of being God's dwelling place does not make believers ignore the value of the sacred place like the church sanctuary and building (Noh 1997a:86).

The Altar and the Pulpit. The sanctuary of each church and prayer mountain center that I visited had an altar, which was a wooden table on which the Bible is laid and flowers are offered. Offerings were also placed on the altar. It seemed to me, the altar represented a more sacred space than the area of congregational seats in the sanctuary. The main altar retains the function of signifying God's presence, only remotely as a place of sacrifice.

They also had pulpits that were raised above the level of the congregational seats. Yoido Full Gospel Church had three pulpits: one for Yonggi Cho who gave sermons, one for other pastors who led worship services, and one for elders who offered pastoral prayers. Keumran Methodist Church had only one pulpit in the center, and Juan Presbyterian Church had two pulpits, one at the left side and the second at the right side. In all instances, there was a small bell on each pulpit which was used to draw people's attention to the worship service and to let people know when it was the appropriate time for finishing *Tongsung Kido* (the loud prayer).

Sacred Time

Just as sacred space is separate from the profane, so also some elements of time are considered more sacred than others

(McKenzie 1988:61). In the Korean church, the church celebrates on Sunday, because it is the day of Christ's resurrection. They also follow the dramatic cycle of the history of salvation throughout the liturgical year: Advent, Christmas, Palm Sunday, Good Friday, Easter, Pentecost, and Thanksgiving.

Sacred Action

The broad field of Christian sacred action will be discussed in terms of three stages: Purification (the act of participating in the cleansing ceremony), Sacrifice (the act of offering to God), and Unification (the act of union with God) (McKenzie 1988:75-131).

Purification. The worship of contemporary Korean Christian churches has a feature of driving away dangerous powers. In Korean Shamanism, these powers or spirits are driven away through making sounds or noises with drums or bells. In Korean Buddhism, the burning of incense attracts good spirits. Because of the interpretations attached to these traditional sacred actions, the Korean church does not use them. They simply use words and prayers to drive away dangerous powers.

In the revival meeting at Yoido Full Gospel Church, I heard a prayer from the main speaker, Rev. Jong-Soon Park, president of Korean Presbyterian Churches as follows:

O! Lord! I believe You set up Yoido Full Gospel Church according to your good will. I pray for Rev. Cho, your servant, who shall receive your spiritual power seven times and be strong in health so that whenever he preaches the gospel, may your miracle happen. Today, your beloved people gather together. Give them your blessing and healing by the

power of the Holy Spirit. Now, Lord! Get rid of the power of Satan, the thoughts of demons, with the power of the Holy Spirit. In Jesus' Name. Amen. (1997a:119)

Sacrifice. In Korean traditional religions, it is believed that gifts and food sacrifices open up a channel of communication between the profane world of men and the world of the spirit. Before or after receiving God's words through the sermon, believers offered their money to God (Noh 1997a:48-90). Pastoral offering prayers emphasized that the offering was the channel to get blessings from God and they focused the importance of thanksgiving and sacrificial offering to God. In the revival meetings and prayer meetings, believers offered their money on the altar on every occasion.

The main speaker of the revival meeting at Yoido Full Gospel Church made an offering prayer as follows:

Lord! People who love You offer their precious presents to You with their heart. I hope these presents will be the sacrifice to You! Give the people your blessings that you promised in Deuteronomy Chapter 28. Give them your blessings such as being well in soul, body, and in everything including their businesses, families, parents, children, church, and nation. In Jesus' Name I pray. (Noh 1997a:118)

Unification. The sense of union or communion with the divine can be felt through touching (McKenzie 1988:109). The Korean church, however, did not have such acts as kissing a holy object or greeting one another with a holy kiss (Romans 16:16). They have attempted to restore the kiss of peace by adapting it to the Christian form of a handclasp. It appeared that churches

I visited had elders or deacons who greeted people as they entered into or went out of the sanctuary with bowing and making a handclasp before or after services (Noh 1997a:50,70,110).

Anointing is a rite of unification and consecration that involves a transmission of sacredness (McKenzie 1988:111). It communicates lasting power and sacredness to an object or person. The churches and prayer mountain centers I visited did not emphasize anointing with oil for the sick but rather focused upon spiritual anointing of the Holy Spirit. Rev. Sang-Nam Lee the speaker of the revival meeting at Juan Presbyterian Church emphasized anointing of the Holy Spirit.

I was a holy swindler before getting anointed with the Holy Spirit. On the pulpit I spoke God's messages like angels but under the pulpit I could not live like my messages. I was a holy defrauder before I was anointed by the Holy Spirit. I stole God's glory and I did not serve Jesus Christ as my King. I did everything for myself, my glory, and my family. However, I and my family I served were not happy because of my quarreling with my wife. My wife always complained to me that "you should live like what you preached on the pulpit." After I was anointed with the Holy Spirit, I surrendered myself to God. Then, I and my family became happy under the Lordship of Jesus Christ.

You, saints! Be anointed with the Holy Spirit! That is the best solution to the problem of illness, business failure, and family problems. (Noh 1997a:72)

As a sacred action of unification, the use of the imposition of hands was widespread in the Korean church during blessing and healing ceremonies, and at services of ordination and consecration, as I have seen in my own pastoral career. The laying on of hands are widely accepted by Christians for their

blessing and healing. At Osanri Prayer Mountain Center, I saw several pastors lay their hands on people's backs and heads during prayer time right after the end of the sermon. People prayed with loud voices and asked God to solve their daily problems such as illness or family and business problems. When a pastor laid his right hand on a woman's head, her body began to tremble and she prayed more loudly and enthusiastically (Noh 1997a:68).

Sacred dance is a sacred action of unification. To those following the Western Christendom form of Korean Christianity which I described before, sacred dance is not encouraged, because sacred dance has been used in Shamanism. They believe that they should be different from the traditional shamanistic religion. But I observed alternate forms of body movement that might be understood as sacred dance: small motions of lifting hands and waving during singing time at Yoido Full Gospel Church and rocking back and forth during prayer (Noh 1997a:110).

Sacred Word From the Deity

Sacred Language. The tendency toward the separation of the sacred and the profane led to the rise of whole sacred languages. Sacred languages try to express the stability and unchanging character of the divine and the sense of mystery (McKenzie 1988:136-137).

Some pastors and believers of those churches and prayer mountain centers I visited used glossalalia prayer. I was

astonished that I heard glossalalia prayer from Rev. Jong-Soon Park, the main speaker in the revival meeting at Yoido Full Gospel Church and president of Korean Presbyterian Churches, which denomination does not encourage speaking in tongues (Noh 1997a:117).

Korean Christians prefer to use the formal style of Korean vernacular language at prayer which makes people feel more sacred. It is like Elizabethan "Thee" and "Thou" terms. And those church and prayer mountain centers I visited used "Hallelujah and Amen" at the time of the choir and prayer. Most congregations in those churches and prayer mountain centers responded by saying "Amen" when pastors asked for a congregational response to their message. Rev. Hak-il Chang who was the main speaker at the revival meeting of Keumran Methodist Church spoke about advantages of saying "Amen."

"Amen" is a Hebrew word for "yes." If you say "Amen" responding to the pastor's sermons, you could make the spoken messages be yours. Then, God's words that you received by saying "Amen" make you be blessed and powerful in order to overcome the problems of this world. Therefore, you discipline yourselves to swallow or eat every sentence spoken by your pastor in the pulpit. (Noh 1997a:54)

Sermon. The Korean churches believe that a sermon is the word from God. The sermon is regarded as inspired, so only the pastor can give the sermon to the congregation. As I already described under the section of "sacred language," the sermon is the most important encounter for Christian believers because through participation in it they receive God's powerful words by

saying "Amen" as well as having it revealed to their understanding. Rev. Sang-Nam Lee who was the main speaker at Juan Presbyterian Church's revival meeting emphasized the power of the sermon.

When you listen to the sermon, God's words, your illness can be healed. Your family problems can be solved. Your spiritual health can be diagnosed. You can be blessed. It is like a tree rooted out. It looks good but it is dying. Accept God's words and you shall be delivered from all the problems which Satan brought you. Your problems die out. (Noh 1997a:87)

The Sacred Word To the Deity

Wordless Prayer. At the beginning of the worship, the pastors asked people to pray silently in order to focus on God's grace as people prepare to receive his grace (Noh 1997a:50,54,84,86).

Invocation and Confession. The beginning part of the service at the Korean churches also included an invocation and confessional prayer. The invocation was to God, the heavenly Father, using wording from a Psalm. Chapters mostly used in invocational prayers are Psalm 1, 4, 15, 23, 32, 46, 67, 96, 103, 121, 127, and 150. The confessional prayer was made to God with complete trust in God's mercy and Christ's act of redemption (Noh 1997a:50,55). An elder from Yoido Full Gospel Church gave publicly a confessional prayer to God at the beginning of the Rivival Meeting:

... O! God, the Father!
 Forgive our sins!
 We, as Your people, did not love each other.
 Forgive our national sins
 including the President and people!
 We did not totally trust You but many people went to the
 idles and the secular worlds (Noh 1997a:110)

Adoration, Praise and Thanksgiving. After the confession of sins and the seeking of forgiveness, the churches expressed adoration and praise to God for his power and holiness. Those churches and prayer mountain centers used The United Korean Hymnal Book in which there are only 26 Korean songs in addition to 558 songs translated from Western hymn books. Several hymns and gospel songs composed by Koreans are accepted in worship services, but usually are not used for liturgical worship. Yoido Full Gospel Church uses indigenous gospel songs, like "Well Being of My Soul" composed by a Korean, even in the Sunday worship service (Noh 1997a:111).

Confession of Faith and Intercessory Prayer. For the confession of faith, the Apostles' Creed was used as a prayer at all the churches I visited. During the worship services, elders led prayers in which they praised God, confessed the faith, and made intercessory prayer for the Kingdom of God, the church, the state and its rulers, and the peace of the whole world. These prayers were concluded by invoking the name of Jesus Christ (Noh 1997a:110-111).

Spontaneous Free Prayer. During worship services at the revival meetings and prayer meetings, believers practiced free individual prayer, always verbalized audibly and consisting of their pouring out their personal needs. A pastor leading this free and loud prayer encouraged people to speak loudly or with audible voice on the basis of Scripture verses such as Psalms 34:15,17 and Jeremiah 33:3 (Noh 1997a:56). They believed that God could not respond to people without prayer. It also was believed that since prayer is the chief exercise of faith, God manifests his power among praying people.

This is a typical spontaneous individual prayer I heard at Osanri Prayer Mountain Center is as follows:

Lord! Lord! Lord! We have many problems of the nation, churches, families, businesses, and children. Give us Your Spirit, the Holy Spirit, the fire of the Holy Spirit so that we can overcome the problems. Let our wounded hearts and sick bodies be healed with the power of the Holy Spirit!
 With the fire of the Holy Spirit!
 With the fire of the Holy Spirit!
 With the fire of the Holy Spirit!
 Please, answer our prayer, O Lord!
 Please, answer our prayer, O Lord!
 Please, answer our prayer, O Lord!
 In Jesus Name I pray. Amen." (Noh 1997a:56)

Sacred Writings

The Bible. To Korean church members studied in this research, the Bible is accepted as God's holy word. This means God is the primary author of sacred Scripture. Faith in the divine origin and inerrancy of Scripture remains strong in the

Korean churches. That is why the Bible is placed as a symbol on the altar (Noh 1997a:70).

The powerful authority of the Bible becomes the foundation of the church and basis for church activities. Since Korean people inherited a Confucian respect for good literature, they eagerly responded to the opportunity to learn from the ancient book, the Bible, that provided them with the Words of Christian life (Noh 1995:13-14). All churches I visited have several Bible study meetings in which assistant pastors teach believers God's words in accordance with the biblical study guides and pastors' interpretations (Noh 1997a:50,70,110).

Regarding interpreting Scripture, the main speaker at the revival meeting of Yoido Full Gospel Church emphasized that passages of the Bible should be interpreted by using the Bible itself with the aid of the Holy Spirit. He encouraged people to read three chapters of the Bible every day and recite a verse (Noh 1997a:115).

Sacred Person

The pastor represents a certain sacredness to people in the churches. The pastor is believed to be sacred because of his calling. He is considered a servant of God, a proclaimer of God's word, a dispenser of the Lord's Supper, and a person who has the authority of blessing. The main speaker at the revival meeting of Yoido Full Gospel Church emphasized that "if someone really wants to get a blessing from God, he or she should serve

or help his or her pastor who is God's servant" (Noh 1997a:110). They insisted that loving Christ should be expressed by believers in loving his church and his servant (Noh 1997a:75). The right relationship between lay people and pastors was very much emphasized in the revival meetings and prayer meetings. Believers including elders and deacons are encouraged to cooperate with their pastor and help him at the time of decision making for the church and the Kingdom of God. The main speakers made believers honor their pastors as God's servant in order to receive God's message during the sermon. If believers did not honor their pastor as God's servant or sacred person, they would not listen to him as a preacher. When believers honor their pastor, they are justified in expecting to have individual pastoral care and healing through prayer (Noh 1997a:75,110).

The World of Contemporary Korean Christian Concepts

The Deity

The main speakers at revival meetings and prayer meetings insisted that God is the creator of the world and of human beings, the sustainer of what is made, and the Lord over life death, curse, and blessing. They also regarded God as Father whom believers should serve. They emphasized the Holy Spirit not as impersonal power but as a person who has power to heal the sick, to bless the poor, and to cause believers to be well in their everyday lives including their family, business, health, and wealth (Noh 1997a:54,74-75,115).

Evil Spirits and Demons

Korean Shamanism as was mentioned believes in evil spirits of the earth and forest, in spirits of the dead who wander about without rest, and partly in evil powers causing sickness and disease. The main speakers at the revival meetings and prayer meetings do not deny the Korean worldview but emphasize that the belief in God and Jesus Christ can overcome the fear of demons and the power of evil spirits with the power of the Holy Spirit. For example, the main speaker at the revival meeting of Yoido Full Gospel Church made a compulsive prayer during or after services as follows:

In the name of Jesus Christ, I command you, the devil, the evil spirits of Satan who cause illness, business failures, family problems, go out of the beloved people! (Noh 1997a:121)

Salvation

Salvation is related to Korean people's experience, their liberation from evil powers, the forgiveness of sins, and participation in eternal, and divine life. The main speakers at the revival meetings and prayer meetings interpreted Christian salvation as harmony with God, people, and nature. For example, Rev. Hak-il Chang, who was the main speaker at Keumran Methodist Church's revival meeting, tried to indigenize the concept of salvation by describing it as a recovery of loving fellowship with God, people, and nature. He said that if someone really

wants to get well in everything he or she does, first of all, he or she should get into a right relationship with God through prayer and service in the local church (Noh 1997a:54). He explained salvation as "restoration from lost things." He regarded illness, business failure, poverty, and barrenness as things lost primarily by Satanic power. Christians should restore God's blessing through the power of the Holy Spirit in the name of Jesus Christ (Noh 1997a:51).

The World of Contemporary Korean Christian Experience

Basic Forms

Faith, Joy, Peace, and Hope. It appeared that those believers who participated in the revival meetings and prayer meetings I visited felt a sense of security and faith especially while listening to the sermon, the word of God. They shouted "Amen" loudly many times with one accord right after the speakers said, "I hope you believe this message!" (Noh 1997a:52). They also seemed to feel joy and hope toward the future that they would attain God's blessing to overcome all of the problems they had. During the loud prayer time, believers prayed screaming and writhing enthusiastically to free themselves from the bonds of Satan and to get God's blessing through the power of the Holy Spirit (Noh 1997a:56-57).

Supranormal Forms

Visions and Auditions. It appeared that believers who participated in those revival meetings and prayer meetings

expected to enter directly into experiences of the power of the Holy Spirit which could heal and solve their problems. I saw that most people did not experience visions and auditions, but they had been made aware of that kind of experience and perhaps were seeking it. They had heard that devout persons have had visions of Christ (Noh 1997a:68-69).

Thus far, I mapped the world of contemporary Korean Christianity by examining the case of several revival meetings and prayer meetings in terms of a wide series of phenomenological categories. During this research, I found an authentic self-identity within contemporary Korean Christianity by which Korean Christians have come to understand themselves to be Christians. In their world of Christian phenomena such as sacred time and space, and sacred action such as the method of offering, they retain at least some shamanistic forms. They observe the first day of the year and regard their home as sacred. In their world of Christian concepts and experience, they share some of the beliefs and associated experiences with people from shamanistic background. For example, contemporary Korean Christians worship their God using the name *Hananim* and understand that salvation is God's restoration of all things for his children including material blessings and spiritual blessings.

However, in their world of Christian phenomena, such as sacred objects, sacred action, and sacred person, Korean Christians have stressed the claim that they are different from

the traditional Korean religions like Buddhism, Confucianism, and Shamanism. In general, they have a negative attitude toward indigenous religious objects, actions, and phenomena. This is understandable since they for a long time struggled for survival and identity among the traditional religions.

Three Kinds of Contemporary Korean Christianity

On the basis of these preliminary and phenomenological understandings of contemporary Korean Christianity, I have proposed that there are actually three different kinds of Korean Christianity present among Protestant churches today. Although these may be described as having distinct forms, in reality they coexist, operating side by side within most Korean Christian churches.

After having examined general religious phenomena of Christianity, it is helpful to distinguish further the religious phenomena occurring within the forms of Korean Christianity.

Western Christendom

Korean Christianity is closely connected to Western Christendom which has been adapted to fit the Western culture. Many features of Korean Christianity are identified with Westernization and modernization. Thus, it has been a common thought in Korea that Christians are advocates of Western and modern civilization. Even though churches exist within Korean culture, they are not indigenized into the Korean ways of religious life.

The Western Form of Korean Churches. Most Korean churches are built using the Western style of architecture. Among all the sacred artifacts of Korean Christianity, the empty cross is regarded as a central symbol for the atonement, in line with Western Protestant church tradition (McKenzie 1988:35). During worship services and prayer meetings, indigenous music and dance is hardly used in the order of worship. Korean pastors wear the Geneva or academic gown, or they might wear Western clothes, regarded as formal dress to Koreans, in worship (Noh 1997a:50, 70,111). Korean Christians celebrate Advent, Christmas, Palm Sunday, Good Friday, Easter, Pentecost, and Thanksgiving Day, but these days are not connected to Korean agricultural or national festivals. Even though Koreans have a traditional thanksgiving day, *Chuseok*, most churches do not want to celebrate it but still keep celebrating American Thanksgiving Day which is considered a more Christian ceremony than traditional *Chuseok*. The worship service of nearly all Protestant Korean churches is very similar to that of Western churches in its liturgy (McKenzie 1988:153-154). Like Western churches, an invocation and confessional prayer, Scripture reading, sermon, offerings and hymns are included.⁵ Korean Christianity, following Western Protestantism, has been opposed to the use of images (McKenzie 1988:36). Korean churches do not use the traditional ways of making sounds or noises with drums or bells to drive away dangerous powers, or the

burning of the incense to attract good spirits; rather they just use words and prayers to do that.

It appears that the reasons for following Western forms and neglecting indigenous forms come both from the theology of the Protestant Reformation and the negative reaction to traditional religions like Confucianism, Buddhism, and Shamanism which have so many images. Korean Christians believe that Christianity is different from other traditional religions and superior to them.

However, presently Korean churches recognize that people do not need Christianity for modernization and Westernization. Korean churches need to change from the Western form of Christendom into true form of Christianity that fits within the indigenous Korean culture. It needs to distinguish what is Western from what is Christian. Therefore, Korean Christianity must find Christian indigenous ways to reach people within their lives and culture.

Indigenous Christianity

Indeed, the Western form of Christianity did not satisfy Korean folk Christians, so Korean Christianity has generated at least some indigenous features that are related to Korean life and culture.

The Concept of Hananim. The first example of indigenous Christianity is shown at the concept of *Hananim*. Shamanism because of its religious parallels to Christianity has enabled Koreans to more easily comprehend the references to the Christian

idea of God, to evil in the world, to personal blessings, and to benevolent and evil spirits. Among them, the concept of *Hananim* is a very good example of indigenous Christianity in Korea.

Hananim has been used to identify the name of "the Heavenly Supreme Almighty" in Korean Shamanism (Hulbert 1906:404). It was adapted into the Christian name for God in Korea and that helped Christianity be indigenous in the country (Shearer 1966:30-31). But there continues to be a problem among syncretistic folk Christians who blend the meaning of deity confusing the Christian God and shamanistic *Hananim*. They have a tendency to confuse the function of *Hananim* as well, controlling *Hananim* for their own desires.

Meeting Needs of Minjung Holistically. Another example of indigenous Christianity in Korea is the positive impact of Korean Shamanism on Christianity in the way it satisfies the folk people, *Minjung*, more easily by meeting their physical and psychological needs (Tae-Gon Kim 1995:565-566). In the social structure, believers of the folk variety of Christianity generally belong to lower classes of Korean society. They are women, the uneducated or poorly educated, and marginal urban people (Billings 1983:50; Chung 1990:66).. They have various basic needs in their lives such as security or physical well-being, and search for psychological and spiritual satisfaction.

Folk Christianity meets these people's needs through Christian prayers and healing services focusing on God's power.

The power of the Holy Spirit can deliver them from their sickness, poverty, and business failures. They do not seek the blessings from Buddha, one's ancestor's ghost, or the spirits; but they ask God for these real blessings, including those physical and spiritual, in the name of Jesus. This should be regarded as an effective communication of the gospel that fits folk Koreans. But there continues to be a problem among syncretistic folk Christians who have still magical manipulation with which they do not have a dependent faith, willing to participate in God's work, but prefer to control *Hananim* for their own desires.

Syncretistic Christianity

Syncretistic Christianity, however, does occur in other places where Western Christendom does not satisfy people with its rationalistic and scientific worldview. Many syncretistic folk Christians seem to be forced back to their old ways of life, that are shamanistic ways, because they obtain little satisfaction for their spiritual needs in high Christianity. According to my research in 1997, 36 Christians out of 73 Christians among whom I interviewed had knowledge and experience of visiting shamans (Noh 1997a:30-47; 1997b:5-10).⁶ This means some syncretistic folk Christians exist and they have not exchanged their traditional shamanistic understandings of spiritual realities for Christian biblical understandings. Here is the necessity that forces Christian believers at this time to go beyond the Christian

churches. They continue to believe in divination, magic, and possession of spirits, as well as the Christian way of believing in Jesus Christ. Here occurs "dual allegiance" of syncretistic Christianity.

Thus, while syncretistic folk Christians coexist within the Protestant congregations, it cannot be demonstrated fully in this chapter which concentrated on Christian religious phenomena within formal Christian settings. A complete portrayal of syncretistic folk Christians requires a phenomenological research beyond Christian settings that will be done in Chapter 5.

Summary

In this chapter I tried to describe contemporary Korean Christianity including three different types of Western Christendom, indigenous folk Christianity, and syncretistic folk Christianity in order to understand some distinctives of contemporary Korean Christianity and to see its indigenous religious patterns that demonstrate some connection in form with contemporary Korean Shamanism. Among them, I could find the indigenous religious patterns which could be categorized into as follows: (1) emphasizing and receiving messages regarding "restoration" or "blessing" through relationship between God and believers, (2) worshipping God through offering time and materials, (3) belief in empowerment of pastors, (4) participatory prayer in various forms: loudness, wordless, fasting, or free spontaneous prayer, and (5) close relationship between

pastors and believers. I also found indications of the beliefs and behaviors of syncretistic folk Christians who maintain "dual allegiance" both to Christianity and Shamanism.

In the next chapter, I will discuss the phenomenon of "dual allegiance" among syncretistic folk Christians and propose some solutions to it.

Notes

1. The first missionary Dr. Allen was employed as court physician in 1884. On April 5, 1885, Horace Underwood, a Presbyterian missionary, and Henry Apenzeller, a Methodist missionary, joined Dr. Allen. As time passed, the missionary community in Seoul grew and carried out a considerable amount of medical work and education (Wasson 1934:34-35).

2. Its founder was Je-Woo Choi who insisted on the unity of man and the universe which together reveal the greatness of God. Since it declared equality among human beings and rejected a structured class system in society, it turned into a social movement of liberation (Lee 1967:118-147).

3. In 1907, "the Great Pyongyang Revival Movement" broke out to make Korean churches grow (Paik 1970:370-371). The Great Pyongyang Revival Movement started in a revival meeting led by missionary W. N. Blair on January 14th in 1907. In fact, there were many revival meetings led by Dr. R. A. Hardie, Canadian Methodist missionary, Rev. A. F. Robb, Presbyterian missionary, and some Korean leaders such as Sun-Joo Kil who started the practice of "prayer meeting at dawn." These revival movement spread into the whole nation in which Korean Christians, including leaders and believers, repented of their sins and renewed their minds to overcome their national weakness and personal insecurity (Min 1989:250-254).

4. The term "redemption and lift" is used by Donald McGavran to indicate that after Christians are redeemed by Jesus Christ, they become middle-class people. Becoming Christians by God's redemption and their lift of social and economic status are closely connected with each other (McGavran 1990[1970]:211-212).

5. See Appendix 4.3 "Accounts of Christian Rituals," Pp. 262-269.

6. See Chapter 1, Data Collection, Pp. 10-16.

Chapter 5

Indigenous Christian Response

To the Challenge of Contemporary Korean Shamanism

In the previous chapter, it was identified that syncretistic folk Christians can be vulnerable to the persuasive ideas and methods of contemporary Korean Shamanism. Since the needs of syncretistic folk Christians can not be satisfied by the form of Western Christendom, they are likely to be involved in "dual allegiance," being active both in Christianity and Shamanism. In this chapter, I will discuss the phenomenon of "dual allegiance" among syncretistic folk Christians and try to seek some solutions to it.

Phenomenon of "Dual Allegiance"

Among Syncretistic Folk Christians

Within Korean Christianity, as we have already suggested, there exist a group of syncretistic folk Christians. According to the research from a Christian journal Bit gwa Sogeum (Salt and Light), 77% of interviewees who were Christians, experienced the beliefs and practices of contemporary Korean Shamanism (Park 1995:81). In my field research, it was revealed that about 50% of interviewees who were Christians experienced shamanistic beliefs and practices (Noh 1997a:32-46; 1997b:5-10). Indeed, the phenomenon of dual religious systems of syncretistic folk Christians is currently a big challenge to Korean Christianity.

Dual Religious Systems

My field research from March to December 1997 in Seoul revealed that there exist syncretistic folk Christians who practice dual religious systems in the context of Korean Christianity. More definitively, in considering Schreiter's three categories of dual religious systems, Korean folk Christians belong to the second kind of dual system. They practice Christianity entirely and also practice selected elements from another system. In other words, they participate in the activities of their Christian church, but find it necessary to supplement their Christian religion with some activities of shamans. In the time of distress or transition, they visit and pray to a local shamanistic deity as well as to the Christian God.

Interviewing Shamans. A well known shamaness Jin-Song Shim, who was born and raised in a devoted Christian family, publicly said that many Christians came to her regularly for divination (Shim 1995:178). Her statement was disturbing. I then suspected that syncretistic folk Christians would be found at shamans' places and tried to learn why they would go to shamans.

37 shamans were interviewed from May 22nd to 24th, from June 2nd to 9th, and from November 11th to November 18th, 1997. These shamans' names, and summary of their visitors, and reasons of visiting are described in Appendix 3.1. The interview questions used appear in Appendix 1.1.

1. The Reasons for Becoming Shamans

Of the 37 shamans interviewed, 29 shamans replied to the Interview Questions 1 to 3: regarding the general demographic Question 1 and the reasons for becoming shamans Questions 2 and 3. Five shamans whom I interviewed did not experienced *Synbyung* (divine illness): Pyung-Won, Heuk Jin Joo, Oh Buhl Sa, Dongung, and Jungsang Suh. But 24 shamans interviewed became *Mudang* after having *Synbyung* (divine illness). But among them, it was revealed that five shamans were former Christians: Joonho Lee, Lee Bosal, Yaksoo Bosal, Tae Bak Dosa, and Heuk Jin Joo. They told me that they were healed after being shamans, but not through the churches.

Knowing their reasons for becoming shamans can help us understand why Korean Shamanism attracts syncretistic folk Christians who have problems and illnesses. Shamans insisted that they were cured by shamanistic *Kut* rituals instead of the Christian ways. For detailed accounts of responses given by contemporary Korean shamans to Interview Questions 2 and 3 see Appendix 3.2.

2. The Reasons Syncretistic Folk Christians Go to Shamans

When shamans were questioned about their clients or visitors from Interview Questions 4, 5, and 6, I found the reasons folk Christians go to shamans were due to daily problems: according to my interviewees; 19 shamans told me that even folk Christians, including women in their forties and fifties, visited and asked

them to solve their daily problems such as marriage, children, business, health, wealth, and the future (Noh 1997a:92-109; 1997b:11-26).

According to the shamans, normally their visitors or clients are housewives who have marital troubles with their husbands or have problems with their children (Noh 1997b:29). Especially at the time of entering college and taking the national exam, shamans have very busy days and nights (Noh 1997b:24,30). Also among the shamans' visitors are many young people who are planning to be married. Before marriage, they are encouraged by their parents to counsel with shamans (Noh 1997b:25).¹ There also are some visitors or clients whose family members are sick or have trouble in their business or family affairs (Noh 1997b:27).

Shamans insisted that many Christians came to them, because Christians are not exempted from having daily problems. Shaman Chunsin Dosa whose name means "a disciple of the heavenly god" and Dongung whose name means "the crown prince" even said that Christian pastors visited them for getting advice as to where their new churches should start (Noh 1997b:16,20).

Shamans interviewed, however, did not give specific details regarding Christian visiting but just told me general information on the basis of their overall experiences. Their reports about Christian visiting shamans have to be critically examined. To know how many Christians go there would require direct interviews

with people who have experience or knowledge about visiting shamans or Shamanism itself.

Interviewing Pastors. On April 21st and 22nd in 1997, there was a conference meeting in Hoejeong Church of Euijungboo City near Seoul of pastors or leaders who wanted to make Christian converts of shamans. At 2:00 p.m. on April 22nd about 200 pastors and leaders participated in the conference "Musok Junmoon Moim" (Conference for Special Evangelistic Concern for Shamans). They belonged to different denominations such as Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist churches. But they were all interested in evangelizing contemporary Korean shamans. Before and after the conference, I used this occasion to interview 12 pastors and one journalist. Questions used in the interviews appear in Appendix 1.2 and summary of responses to the questions may be found in Appendix 3.3.

1. The Reasons Syncretistic Folk Christian Go to Shamans

The rationale given by Christian pastors for folk Christians' "dual allegiance" between contemporary Korean Shamanism and Christianity relating to Question 4 was quite different from the that of shamans. While shamans insisted "many" Christians visit them, pastors denied that there were "many" Christians who went to shamans. Rather, they insisted that only "a few" Christians might go to them.

Three of my interviewees, Christian pastors who had experience with or knowledge of Shamanism, did not believe at all

that Christians went to shamans. However, eight of them agreed that there is the phenomenon of "dual allegiance" of folk Christians, whether many or few are involved (Noh 1997a:6-27). Most of my interviewees insisted that the main reason of "dual allegiance" of folk Christians could be due to the lack of knowledge and experience about the Gospel of Jesus and the power of the blood of Jesus. My interviewee, a Presbyterian pastor, 35 years old, said:

... I was sick in my childhood. My grandmother took me to a shamans' house, but I was not healed. After that, my grandmother went to the church and believed in Jesus Christ. I was healed in a pastor's prayer. I strongly believe that Jesus Christ can solve the problems of our sickness and troubles. But I know some deacons and Sunday school teachers who became shamans because they did not find any solution in the churches. I think the heart of the matter is not the church or not Jesus Christ, but their faith. They did not totally trust in Jesus Christ. (Noh 1997a:22-23)

A Pentecostal pastor, 52 years old, eagerly told me that Christian churches had to prevent folk Christians from visiting shamans.

... I decided to become a pastor since I was healed by a pastor's prayer. I believe in God's power of healing. ... In my childhood, I saw many *Kut* rituals in my village. Presently, I also see the practices of Shamanism such as *Kut* in my neighbors' houses. I heard many people including Christians go to shamans for divination. I think if people are practicing *Kut* ritual and visiting shamans' house, their souls must be killed by shamanistic spirits. Thus, we, pastors, should not allow Christians to go to shamans for divination. It is a matter of life and death of their souls. (Noh 1997a:11-12)

2. About Their View of the Indigenous Religious Patterns of Korean Christianity

Nine pastors of my interviewees regarded negatively Korean Christian indigenous patterns as of syncretistic as I asked them in Questions 5 and 6. They saw these as shamanistic and not sufficient to deal with the problems of folk Christians. They were critical of a pattern of pastoral messages that many current Korean Christian churches use to emphasize material blessings and secularization of the church rather than spiritual power and the gospel itself (Noh 1997a:9-17). One interviewee, a Presbyterian pastor, 41 years old, who grew up in a shamanistic atmosphere, criticized the shamanistic tendency in Korean Christianity as follows:

I grew up in a family who believed in Shamanism. My parents invited shamans to do Kut ritual. But I turned from the shamanic faith to Jesus Christ ... I think Korean pastors too much emphasized the material blessings at revival meetings and prayer meetings at prayer mountain centers. This came from Shamanism. We pastors should preach the essence of the gospel and the power of Jesus Christ. Then, Christians do not need to go to shamans. (Noh 1997a:18)

Most of my interviewees in reply to Question 7 regarding pastors' power, denied the fact that a pastor has spiritual power to protect his people from evil. They insisted that pastors do not have their own power but that of Jesus Christ. Thus, they suggested, replying to Questions 8 and 10, that pastors should preach the gospel of Jesus Christ with stronger emphasis in order

to deal with folk Christians who have daily problems. A

Methodist pastor, 38 years old, told me:

Folk Christians might visit shamans when they want to be dependent upon powerful spiritual beings. But these spirits are demons under Satan, and against God. If they really knew and experienced the blood of Jesus Christ that can cleanse all sins and free from all Satanic power, they would not go there. Since they do not have any experience with Jesus Christ, we pastors should preach the gospel of Jesus Christ with more strong emphasis. (Noh 1997a:9)

In sum, my interviewees recognized the existence of syncretistic folk Christians and tried to find a solution for purging "dual allegiance." Eight of my interviewees suggested that pastors should preach the power of the gospel and let folk Christians experience the blood of Jesus Christ. However, this approach is too superficial. A better approach would be to associate with specific and practical methods which I will propose in the next chapter.

Interviewing Syncretistic Folk Christians. Knowing that it was possible that shamans and pastors might exaggerate about the problem of "dual allegiance," I intended to discover the phenomenon of dual religious systems in Korean Christianity through direct contacts with syncretistic folk Christians who visited shamans.

I called every first name that is on each page of the phone book, the Seoul Phone Address Book, Vol. 2 : Kangsuh-Ku, Yangcheon-Ku, Yeongdeungpo-Ku in Seoul, from April 28th to May first and from November 4th to 7th. I reached 73 persons who

were Christians. Among the 73 Christians, 37 people did not want to be interviewed. I interviewed 36 people by phone regarding Korean Shamanism.

A summary of responses to interview questions regarding the reality and reasons for visiting shamans and the effectiveness of Christian religious patterns are given here. For details of questions used, see Appendix 1.3. A summary of answers appears in Appendix 3.4.

1. The Reasons for Visiting Shamans: (Questions 2,3,4)

As I interviewed folk Christians, I noted four primary reasons for their visiting shamans.

(1) A lack of faith in God: five interviewees pointed to their lack of faith in God in the church as a main reason for visiting shamans. They felt that their faith in God was weak in their Christian daily lives and they did not totally trust in God's activity in their lives. My interviewee, Chil S. Kim told me:

I heard about some Christians who went to shamans for divination. As I know, they have not enough faith in God. In fact, they believe in God. But if something bad happened to their children and husbands, at first, they went to the churches for prayer but there was no immediate answer from God. They went to shamans. (Noh 1997b:9)

Since their problems do not find immediately any answer in the church, they go to shamans as an alternative. Their mind and heart remain burdened with problems. They thought it was easier

to visit shamans rather than to have strong faith in God developed through churches (Noh 1997a:32,38-39).

(2) A belief in spirit beings: one interviewee said that even though folk Christians went to churches, they still felt spirit beings were influencing their lives.

Sun B. Lee, my interviewee, said:

I heard about it many times. The main reason of Christian visiting shamans is because of their life struggles. That is connected with their problems with their ancestor spirits. Even though they go to the church, whenever they meet daily problems or accidents or illness, they are suspicious about their ancestor spirits still having influence in their lives. They go to shamans for consultation of their issues. (Noh 1997a:44-45)

Even though they are Christians, they are not totally free from their shamanistic worldview in which spirit beings control human affairs.

(3) Anxiety about the future: six responses that I received were that folk Christians went to shamans to know the future fortune in their lives. Before marriage, according to four interviewees, they wanted to know what their marriage would be like. My interviewee, Deuk C. Yoo, insisted:

I used to visit a shaman before I was about to be married. Shamans predicted the future of my marriage on the basis of the "Four Pillars (Sajoo)" [such as the year, month, day and hour] of my and my finance's birth. The result was good and I have a good married life. I think this kind of divination is not superstitious. (Noh 1997b:9)

In the cases of family members' sickness and death, or business failures, 12 interviewees went to shamans to know what their family's future would be (Noh 1997a:43,44).

(4) Reliance on shamans' power: opinions were also voiced that the reliance on shamans who had divine power was a reason for visiting shamans (Noh 1997b:5,10). Hyun S. Lee, my interviewee, told me:

I used to visit shamans, but it is hard to say because I feel sorry for the church. I believe in God and I think Christian pastors have spiritual power and revival meetings and prayer meetings are sufficient. But I also think that shamans have power to predict the future. When I felt uneasiness concerning the future it is an easy way to consult with shamans. But I feel sorry for the pastor. (Noh 1997b:9)

2. The Effectiveness of Christian Religious Patterns:

(Questions 5,6,7,8)

How effective are the Christian religious patterns found in revival meetings and prayer meetings considered to be by the folk Christians? 29 interviewees recognized that such indigenous patterns as prayer, pastoral messages, and relationship with pastors are sufficient to deal with their daily problems. 25 interviewees affirmed that Christian pastors have spiritual power. This means that they knew about the Christian God and recognized that Christian religious patterns are sufficient to deal with their daily problems, with the help of pastors. However, although they knew about Christianity and its teaching about God, they did not experience God's power. Because of their little faith in God as they mentioned before, they did not use Christian indigenous patterns such as participatory prayer,

having close relationship with the pastors, and strong receiving of the messages on restoration.

In this way, the syncretistic folk Christians I interviewed insisted that the shamanistic way of divination or *Kut* as well as the Christian way of revival meetings or prayer meetings could be ways of being free from problems. They wanted to get well by using both the traditional way of Shamanism and the Christian way (Noh 1997a:44,46; 1997b:5,8,10).

In sum, my interviews revealed that syncretistic folk Christians have "dual allegiance" because of their lack of faith in God, belief in spirit beings, uneasiness about the future, and reliance on shamans who have divine power to know how to deal with daily problems such as illness, business failure, marriage struggles, and seeking security from divine power. It is clearly demonstrated that contemporary Korean Shamanism is an option attractive to syncretistic folk Christians who have "dual allegiance" to both Christianity and Shamanism.

Korean Christian Responses

To "Dual Allegiance" of Syncretistic Folk Christians

Leaders and pastors of Korean churches have known about this phenomenon of "dual allegiance" of folk Christians and they have offered many critical responses to the challenge of contemporary Shamanism. Dong-Whee Lee, president at Paul Mission Society, is a prominent leader in the field of expelling shamanistic practices out of Korean society.² He argues that the Korean

government and society help Shamanism to flourish. He asks Christian churches to gather their social power and to expel Shamanism from Korean society. He circulated a petition which ten million people were expected to sign in agreement with Dong-
whee Lee's action to expel Korean Shamanism (The Christian Press 7 June 1997). I think his response to the challenge of contemporary Korean Shamanism is so aggressive the public may develop a negative image about Christianity as being exclusive and selfish. After the petition was submitted to the government, shamanistic practices and beliefs were not purged from society. Rather, folk Christians still go to shamans.

Other Christian scholars, professors in Christian universities and professionals, commonly recognize that the challenge of contemporary Korean Shamanism is serious and so strong that Christian churches should respond vigorously to it. Hee-Soo Chung, a professor at Kangnam University, concluded on the basis of a philosophy that emphasizes human reason and free will that shamanistic divination contains a false presupposition about the future (Chung 1995:34-37). Won-Kyu Lee, a professor at Methodist Theological Seminary, insisted on the basis of sociology that shamanistic divination is coming out of human anxiety and hope about the future, but it lacks ethical responsibility and makes people selfish and antisocial (Won-Kyu Lee 1995:40-41). Kyung-Eui Song, a medical doctor at Kwangjoo Christian Hospital, prejudged on the basis of psychology that

Christianity is a religion of maturity and scientific rationality but Shamanism is a childish, immature, and unscientific magic (Song 1995:46-49). Jung-Woo Kim, a professor at Chongsin University, argued on the basis of biblical theology that shamanistic practices are from a magical and mythological worldview which the Bible orders to be dispelled from Israel's society (Jung-Woo Kim 1995:50-57).

These arguments and approaches to Shamanism, however, are based on ideological prejudices and prejudgments from philosophy, psychology, sociology, and theology which are related to modern scientific thinking. These rational, psychological, sociological, and theological explanations of Shamanism can oppose any supernatural explanation of it. They just criticize and ignore shamanistic beliefs and practices, but do not recognize its supernatural reality as a spirituality. Nor do they develop any reliable solution to the challenge of contemporary Korean Shamanism. Since they do not regard Shamanism as an authentic religion that has religious priests, believers, deities, and community, Shamanism is seen to them as an immature magic or a superstition. Since they ignore the status and the social role of Shamanism, they regard it as a childish, primitive, undeveloped, superstitious, and deceitful magic that should be expelled from society.

Both kinds of external aggressive approaches to the challenge of contemporary Shamanism do not work. Folk Christians

still go there. Thus, some Christian leaders insist that churches must develop internal strength against the challenge of contemporary Korean Shamanism. For example, Sung-Soo Kim, professor of Kosin Theological Seminary, insists that Korean churches should analyze first the reasons folk Christians visit shamans and then try to seek solutions. His main explanation for their behavior is a lack of spirituality within Christianity; and his solution is to strengthen the internal spirituality in churches. He, however, does not suggest further practical methods or strategies. He is not wrong when he plainly says that Christian pastors and leaders must trust God's power in Christ that can heal and overcome the problems of human crisis and lives (Sung-Soo Kim 1995:69). But his answer remains insufficient still.

What other methods or approaches are available to overcome the challenge of contemporary Korean Shamanism? I will discuss some practical methods that will help syncretistic folk Christians avoid "dual allegiance" or dual religious systems.

Solutions to the Problem of "Dual Allegiance"

As I mentioned before, the external approach to threaten contemporary Shamanism directly by using mass media and campaigns can not be the best answer to the problem of "dual allegiance" in syncretistic folk Christians. Unless Korean Christianity can satisfy the needs of folk Christians, they will continue to go to shamans. Thus, Korean churches should develop internal

approaches to respond to contemporary Shamanism. I propose biblical instruction, transforming worldview, and practical programs.

Biblical Instruction. Christian church leaders can warn syncretistic folk Christians who are visiting shamans. Formerly they gave a warning on the basis of an ideological preference for modern scientific thought. As mentioned above, they insisted that since Shamanism is childish, immature, and unscientific magic, it should be expelled from society. But warning should be done not through public prejudices but by pastoral instruction on the basis of many biblical passages regarding "dual allegiance."

The phenomenon of "dual allegiance" is evident in the Bible from the time of Israelites. It is clear that the Israelites were used to divination or mediums who called up the dead (Schmidt 1996:154). For instance, King Saul visited a woman medium at Endor and asks her to bring up Samuel (1 Samuel 28:7-25). But the Bible strictly disallow Israelites to visit shamans or diviners. Isaiah prohibits people from consulting mediums and spiritists, because they should not consult the dead on behalf of the living (Isaiah 8:19). The relevant Deuteronomic text indicates that Israelites should not go to "one who uses divination, one who practices witchcraft, or one who interprets omens, or a sorcerer, or one who casts a spell, or a medium, or a spiritist, or one who calls up the dead" (Deuteronomy 18:10-11). If any people turn to mediums and to spiritists, the God of the

Israelites shall set his face against them and cut them off from Israel (Leviticus 20:6).

The biblical prohibition of prophets and the Deuteronomic text regarding "dual allegiance" of Israelites may have several reasons. According to W. Robertson Smith, Old Testament scholar, the prohibition of "dual allegiance" was closely connected with the Assyrian invasion of Israel in the 7th century B.C. Yahwehism, the faith of Yahweh, was threatened by Assyrian religion which allowed divination and magical practices. Thus, prophets and the Deuteronomic text forbid divination and "dual allegiance" by the Israelites in order to preserve the faith of Yahweh who is superior to Assyrian gods (Smith 1901:35,65,358).

Presently, Korean Christianity has been threatened by contemporary Korean Shamanism as I already described. The faith in Yahweh, which has finally been revealed to his people not in magical processes but in belief in Jesus Christ through prayer and the biblical message, has been ignored by some syncretistic folk Christians in Korea. Even though biblical warnings are very strict regarding "dual allegiance" of Christians believing in both the Christian God and spirits of the dead or nature gods, these are not sufficient to prevent syncretistic folk Christians from visiting shamans because the problems or the fundamental needs of syncretistic folk Christians still remain unsolved.

Thus, in order to find a real solution to the problem of "dual allegiance," we need first to remind them of the

prohibition, and then go beyond to the method of instruction. Christian churches should basically discover what assumptions syncretistic folk Christians have at the worldview level that motivate them to satisfy their needs and to solve their problems through Shamanism. After that, Christian churches may help syncretistic folk Christians to transform their worldview into a biblical worldview.

Transforming Worldview.

1. Worldview of Syncretistic Folk Christians in Korea

Worldview can be defined as "the central set of concepts and presuppositions that provide people with their basic assumptions about reality" (Whiteman 1983:478). Thus, worldview is "a shared framework of ideas held by a particular society concerning how they perceive the world" (Burnett 1990:13). Syncretistic folk Christians perceive the world to some extent in a way similar to those practicing Shamanism.

First, following shamanistic worldview, syncretistic folk Christians have a central value of maintenance of life, including physical and spiritual well-being. Whenever they meet problems in their lives, they go to shamans. The main reason my interviewees gave for visiting shamans was the fact that they had problems in their daily lives such as family illness, financial problem, business failure, and uneasiness about the future (Noh 1997b:5-10). Again for details, see Appendix 3.4.

Second, they still follow a shamanistic worldview believing that the whole of the created universe has a total unity so that the unseen and the seen world can both be influenced (Burnett 1990:59). Syncretistic folk Christians believed the problems they met were coming from the lack of harmony between human and spirit beings, including their ancestors.

Sun-Bae Lee, my interviewee, said:

I heard about it many times. The main reason of Christian visiting shamans are because of their life struggles. That is connected with their problems with their ancestor spirits. (Noh 1997a:44-45)

Third, they follow the primal shamanistic worldview, believing that the Creator God or the supreme deity is distant and the lesser spirits, such as local gods, goddesses, nature spirits in trees, rivers, hills, ancestors, and deceased saints are near and able to influence human beings and communities (Burnett 1990:59). Even though those whom I interviewed believe in a heavenly Great God, an all-powerful Creator, *Hananim*, the "Heavenly Supreme Almighty," they felt insecure and uneasy in their daily lives because they did not have enough faith in God.

According to my interviewee, Tae-Gon Kweon, who is a housewife in her thirties, she had pursued Shamanism because she felt uneasy about the future of herself and her family. She said:

When I felt uneasy about myself, family, and future, the church did not quench my feeling of uneasiness. The church could not provide divination or direct spiritual answer for my future and destiny. (Noh 1997b:5)

Fourth, in their worldview, health and prosperity always depend on the relationship with the spirits with aids of the religious specialist such as *Mudang* (shaman). They try to appease and manipulate the spirits to bring healing, prosperity, security, and life by the help of shamans. That is why some syncretistic folk Christians ask Korean shamans (*Mudang*) who are mediators and masters to appease and manipulate the spirits to bring healing, prosperity, security, and life through sacrifices and *Kut* rituals. Among my interviewees, many of them admitted Christian pastors have spiritual power from God, but pastors do not have any power to predict or influence the future (Noh 1997b:5-10). Yeon-Ki Lee, my interviewee, told me:

I went to shamans because I felt uneasy. I think both pastors and shamans would have admitted to the limitations of their jobs, and shamans have ability of divination with the aids of spirits. But now I promise you I will not visit shamans but keep my Christian faith. (Noh 1997b:10)

Therefore, because of the syncretistic folk Christian worldview, they maintain "dual allegiance" to Christianity and Shamanism. Since they believe it is possible for shamans to communicate between terrestrial and supernatural realms, they go to shamans to get healing, security, and prosperity.

In order to solve this kind of syncretistic problem, Korean Christianity needs a biblical worldview that demonstrates and leads people out of these syncretistic tendencies into a powerful biblical Christianity in which their physical and spiritual needs can be met.

2. Biblical Worldview

There are many worldview themes found in the Bible such as those concerning the cosmos, the self, knowledge, community, and time (Burnett 1990:212-219). Among them, I have selected some worldview themes which are related to the Korean situation. I will first outline from an evangelical position which Millard Erickson, a systematic theologian, suggests in his text Christian Theology. His book has been translated into Korean and is used widely as a text for Systematic Theology in several seminaries in Korea. He is a very capable theologian and does a thorough job of investigating and discussing theological themes from many different points of view such as liberation theology, existential theology, secular theology, contemporary Roman Catholic theology, as well as evangelical theology. But among the many different ways from which to present major emphases of a biblical worldview, Erickson prefers the evangelical approach in the final analysis. His approach gives priority to the Bible as a source for understanding specific worldview theme issues. He suggests that the evangelical position of what is a biblical worldview is always related to the Word of God, the Bible. In the evangelical view of biblical worldviews, the Word of God plays an indispensable part in whole matter of describing human beings, sin and salvation, universe, and God (1983:370-371).

Thus, Erickson gives the main themes of a biblical worldview in his theology text (1983:370-371; 904-905). First, the

biblical worldview does not deny that the whole of the created universe has a total unity between the unseen and the seen world. The created order consists of both material (seen) and immaterial (unseen) elements. God did not create merely a certain part of reality, but the entirety of reality. In the opening statement of Genesis ("In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth"), the expression "the heavens and the earth" does not refer to those items alone but designates "the heavens and what is in it and the earth and what is in it" (Revelation 10:6); "the heaven and the earth and the sea and everything in them" (Acts 4:24; 14:15); "the world and everything in it" (Acts 17:24); and "all things" (John 1:3). The unity of all created things are described as praising and glorifying God.

Second, in the biblical worldview, God is working for his children. God is not away from his people. God has a concern for the welfare of the nation of Israel, and of every one of God's children (Psalm 27:10-11; 65:3; Daniel 12:1). God has an inclusive plan encompassing the whole of reality and extending even to the minor details of life (Erickson 1983:348-349). For example, "the Lord has made everything for its purpose, even the wicked for the day of trouble" (Proverb 16:4; cf. 3:19-20; Job 38:4; Isaiah 40:12; Jeremiah 10:12-13). Jesus affirms that God has planned not only the large, complex events, such as the fall and destruction of Jerusalem (Luke 21:20-21), but everyday events as well, such as food and desires (Matthew 6:11-15). God is

willing to give his children their everyday needs (Matthew 7:7-11). According to Paul's writings, everything that occurs is by God's choice and in accordance with his will (1 Corinthians 12:18; 15:38; Colossians 1:19). Paul regards "all things" that happen as part of God's intention for his children (Ephesians 1:11-12). But God's sovereignty does not deny the freedom of human beings. God is sovereign, but he has given human beings a measure of freedom to accept and follow or to reject God's will. All people are stewards of God's creation and Christians are to be active agents of "justice, mercy, and truth" in society (Snyder 1997b:38).

Third, in the biblical worldview, the purpose of God's plan is in the ultimate sense God's glory. This is the highest of all values, and the one great motivating factor in all that God has chosen and done. What God does, He does for his own name's sake (Isaiah 48:11; Ezekiel 20:9). Paul indicates that God chose his children in Christ and destined them for "the praise of his glorious grace" (Ephesians 1:5-6; Colossians 1:16). God seals his children with the Holy Spirit to the praise of his glory (Ephesians 1:13-14).

Fourth, in the biblical worldview, salvation is understood as reestablishment of one's relationship with God because sin produces a broken relationship with God (Genesis 3). Through the atonement of Jesus Christ, sinners can be restored in their relationship with God as his children (John 1:12; 15:14-15).

There are many benefits of being God's children such as forgiveness of sins (Ephesians 4:32), reconciliation to God (Romans 5:8), and being heirs of God (Romans 8:16-17). As heirs Christians have access to the unlimited resources of the Father through confident prayer knowing that there is no limitation of what God is able to do (Erickson 1983:964). Paul insists that "my God will supply every need of yours according his riches in glory in Christ Jesus" (Philippians 4:19).

Based upon these biblical worldview themes selected from evidence found among many worldviews in the Bible, Korean Christianity should work to transform syncretistic folk Christian worldview.

3. Transforming Worldview of Syncretistic Folk Christians

In missionary efforts, Christian missionaries have "frequently been part and parcel of Western expansionism" and have acted as one of the greatest secularizing forces of host cultures by undercutting the "folk" spirituality of those cultures (Whiteman 1983:443). We should not do this again in the name of Christian conversion. We must learn to transform the worldviews of the host people by emphasizing biblical Christianity. In terms of conversion for Koreans, which is "a shift from one faith to another" (Whiteman 1983:371), from allegiance to ancestor or shamanistic spirits to allegiance to Jesus Christ, Korean shamanistic worldview can be changed to the worldview that supports biblical Christianity.

First, since syncretistic folk Christians believe that the supreme deity is distant and the lesser spirits can influence human beings and communities with spiritual power, we need to introduce them to God's power through Jesus Christ in their daily lives (Burnett 1990:224). As we have seen earlier in Chapter 4, the concept of *Hananim*, which is transformed to conform to the God of Christianity, helps people to avoid the fear of shamanistic spirits. They will begin to believe that the Holy Spirit (who is both the Spirit of God as well as the Spirit of Christ, God incarnate related to the world) has more power than any of the other spirits to protect them from evil and to take care of them. Pastor Woon-Mong Nah, a well known inter-denominational Christian leader of the Holy Spirit movement in Korea, who published a two-volume indigenous systematic theology in 1994, emphasized the works of the Holy Spirit in the context of Korean people who are influenced by Shamanism. He concludes "without receiving the Holy Spirit, ... believers can not overcome the Satanic world" (Nah 1994a:17).

Second, they also believe that shamans, as mediators between humans and spirits, try to appease and manipulate the spirits to bring healing, prosperity, and security by employing numerous charms, incantations, and sacrifices. In the process of Christian conversion, however, we need to let them know that Jesus Christ is the real mediator between human beings and the Creator God (Hebrews 2:14-15; 4:14-16; 7:25-28; 8:6). Whenever

they encounter life's struggles, they can ask for help and guidance through prayer from the present and active living mediator, Jesus Christ. Through prayer Christians can participate in the redemptive work of Christ. The Holy Spirit, who was sent by Christ to be our Helper, also participates in believers' prayers through the interpretation of their prayer requests (Acts 8:26-28).

Third, since folk Christians traditionally believe that real salvation should include both physical and spiritual aspects, we need to introduce them to the holistic gospel of salvation (Bradshaw 1993:32). The Bible reveals that physical illness may be related to conflict in the spiritual world. For example, Saul's illness came from an inner struggle stated as "evil spirit from the Lord" (1 Samuel 19:9). Jesus confirms the relationship between illness and God's redemptive work that "neither this man nor his parents sinned, but this happened so the work of God might be displayed in his life" (John 9:3). Salvation of God includes both physical aspects and spiritual aspects (3 John 1:2). Therefore, we must convince them that Christians do not ignore relatedness in the spiritual sense whenever they meet struggles and problems in their daily lives.

Therefore, I do not think Korean Christianity has to totally reject folk Christian worldview influenced by the traditional shamanistic religious worldview. Rather, it should appreciate and respect it in order to understand and transform the Korean

people's worldview into a more biblical Christianity that is powerful and holistic. I believe that biblical Christianity closely related to Korean worldview issues is the only solution by which to transform syncretistic folk Christian worldview.

And finally, worldview transformation should be supported with some practical solutions to deal with "dual allegiance" of folk Christians.

Practical Solutions to "Dual Allegiance." According to my field research, there still exist "syncretistic folk Christians" who make "dual allegiance" between Christianity and Shamanism. In spite of elitist approaches that attempted to teach people to change their shamanistic worldview, presently many syncretistic folk Christians seem to be forced back to their old shamanistic ways of life.

To deal with this situation, effort should be made not only at the theological level but also at the practical ministry level. Pastors and church leaders must first understand the Korean and biblical worldview issues and then from these should develop ministry programs to meet the spiritual needs of folk Koreans. The ministry programs might include some Korean indigenous Christians patterns.

In my proposal, I will try to employ strategies to establish the appropriate cultural contexts for the ministry programs. I will make use of Grayson's analysis, in which he, as an anthropologist and a United Methodist missionary to Korea for

sixteen years, evaluated positively revival meetings (*Puheunghoi*) and prayer meetings at prayer mountain centers (*Kidowon Kidohoi*) as "a very profound degree of accommodation by Protestant Christianity to the religious culture of Korea" (Grayson 1995:52-55). From these two Korean Christian cultural forms and contexts of ministry suggested by Grayson, I found some indigenous patterns of Christian faith which can replace those religious behaviors of contemporary Korean Shamanism.

1. Revival Meetings

Revival meeting is one of many important features of Korean Christianity. Following the rural cycle of the traditional agricultural society, Korean churches would hold revival meetings for a week or ten days in a year, after harvest.³ At revival meetings, people would refresh their minds and souls by receiving God's blessing. People did not need to invite shamans to hold shamanistic sacrificial rites for thanksgiving to ancestor spirits and nature spirits, or for securing their family and harvest from the evil spirits. Revival meetings were for the people a good "functional substitute" for shamanistic sacrificial rites.

Presently, in a modern society, although the revival meeting is held just for three or four days and nights, it still plays a significant role in Korean Christianity for helping people revive their passion for God and encouraging them to meet their daily problems through the power of the Holy Spirit.

In my field research, I participated in several revival meetings at: Keum Ran Methodist Church from May 4th to 8th, Juan Presbyterian Church from May 27th to 31st, and Yoido Full Gospel Church from August 13th to 15th (Noh 1997a:50-55; 70-90; 110-121). For details of the events at these services, see Appendix 4.3.4 to 4.3.6. Although churches which held revival meetings are of different denominations, there are many common features at revival meetings.

First, all messengers who are successful pastors and revivalists⁴ focused their messages on God's blessings that are interpreted in relational terms: a faithful relationship between God and human beings, a loving relationship between human beings, and a successful relationship between human beings and material things during the revival meetings. The main speaker at Keum Ran Methodist Church, Rev. Hak I. Chang, introduced stories regarding a woman who was pregnant through sincere prayer to God and a man who was healed from alcoholism through his faith and prayer to the powerful God (Noh 1997a:51). The revivalists interpreted the gospel as a recovery of right relationship between God and believers. Rev. Hak I. Chang emphasized that if the relationship between God and believers is recovered through following God's will through means such as prayer and offering, everyday problems they met would have to be solved by God's good will (Noh 1997a:53-54). This message is similar to the shamanistic concept

of salvation that is "harmony" among spirits, human beings, and nature or things.

Second, revivalists emphasized that these blessings can be offered to believers only when Heaven opens its door. According to pastor Chang, "Heaven is identified with God, the Creator. In order to open the door of Heaven, that is, to move God's heart, believers should have faith in Jesus Christ (Hebrew 11:1ff) through active response to hearing the words of God and praying to Him" (Noh 1997a:54). Especially, revivalists emphasized that attending Sunday morning service and offering tithe are believers' duty to God. Believers are expected to worship God and to offer their time and money regularly. This message is similar to the shamanistic belief that blessings of spirits depend on human beings' devotion to the words of spirits and sacrificial offering.

Third, empowerment of pastors is a main characteristic of revival meetings. Since the church is redeemed by Jesus Christ, the church should obey the Lord Jesus Christ. Believers also are encouraged to obey pastors who are servants of Christ, or servants of God, in order to receive blessings from God. In this way, revivalists help pastors to get spiritual and political power at the church. This idea is similar to shamanistic belief that shamans are mediators of spirits and powerful beings.

Fourth, "receiving the power of the Holy Spirit" is emphasized in revival meetings. Through the power of the Holy

Spirit, believers can submit their own selfish desires and restore the right relationship to God. If believers receive the power of the Holy Spirit, the Holy Spirit can solve everyday problems such as sickness, barrenness, bad desires and traits, idol worship, alcoholism, and evil spirit's domain. They can be powerful Christians to proclaim the gospel to others for the Kingdom of God (Lee 1990:163).

2. Prayer Meetings at Prayer Mountain Centers

The Korean church is known as a praying church. Herbert Kane points out that Korean Christianity has "a quality of spiritual life through the enormous volume of prayer seldom seen in other parts of the world" (1976:321-322). In fact, Korean churches have many prayer mountain centers in which daily prayer meetings are held. Prayer meetings at prayer mountain centers are an important feature of Korean Christianity. Every single day and night, people gather at prayer mountain centers to pray for their unsolved problems, revival in the church, the nation's evangelization, and world mission. Prayer is a dynamic factor in the Korean church. Rev. Kyung R. Kim, the main speaker at Taewhasan Prayer Mountain Center made statements in his sermon:

Korean Christians believe that God cannot respond to people without prayer. It is also believed that since prayer is the chief way to exercise faith, God manifests his power among praying people. (Noh 1997a:48)

In my field research, I participated in several prayer meetings at Taewhasan Prayer Mountain Center on May 2nd, at

Osanri Prayer Mountain Center on May 6th, at Haneolsan Prayer Mountain Center on May 19th in 1997. For details of these services, see Appendix 4.3.1 to 4.3.3. I found evidence of many important features of Korean religious response at these prayer meetings. I will introduce them as Korean indigenous Christian patterns here.

First, like revival meetings, pastors and revivalists having spiritual power are invited as the main speakers in several meetings such as daily evening prayer meetings, Friday night prayer meetings, and special prayer meetings for entering college, nation's security, and New Year blessings. Their messages are focused on restoration of God's blessings through faithful relationship between God and human beings. Rev. Tae C. Roh, senior pastor of First Holiness Church, was the main speaker of the prayer meeting at Osanri Prayer Mountain Center. His message focused on being filled with the Holy Spirit. He demonstrated in his sermon the right relationship between God and God's children:

We encounter our national difficult time. But our Father, God, promises that He will give us the Holy Spirit as a gift in Romans chapter 8 verse 32. Only receiving the Holy Spirit and having a right relationship with God through the sincere prayer to God and trusting Jesus Christ's power will provide solutions and answers from all kinds of problems of the nation, churches, businesses, and families. (Noh 1997a:59)

To these revivalists, the spiritual always has priority over the material, but is not separated from it, as is the religious pattern in primal or traditional religions.

Second, at these meetings people pray to God with various forms of prayer like wordless prayer, fasting prayer, and the personal and spontaneous free prayer that is a completely personal outpouring of one's needs. The content, the main part of the prayers, is the petition or request to solve their daily problems. The people prayed to God enthusiastically and freely. They frequently used such phrases;

"I pray with the Holy Spirit," "Let us be filled with the Holy Spirit," "Give us great blessings and grace," "with fire, with fire, with fire," "Lord, Lord, Lord," "Give us power," "I believe, Lord." (Noh 1997a:57)

Third, "laying on of hands" is practiced as an important method of divine healing. After worship services, only ordained pastors do laying on of hands for healing which is often accompanied by some loud musical sounds from instruments. When pastors lay their hands on believers, they use the compulsive prayer with which they drive out evil spirits:

I command you in the name of Jesus Christ, demons of illness, power of darkness, be out of God's beloved saint (Noh 1997a:63).

In their prayers, the power of imperative speech and the naming of Jesus' name are the most important means of banning (Noh 1997a:56-57).

I believe that the effective response to the challenge of Korean Shamanism, the problem of "dual allegiance" of syncretistic folk Christians, can be achieved by evaluating and strengthening the Korean indigenous Christian patterns found in revival meetings at churches and prayer meetings at prayer mountain centers. These patterns include:

- (1) emphasizing and receiving messages regarding "restoration" or "blessing" through relationship between God and believers,
- (2) worshipping God through offering time and materials,
- (3) belief in empowerment of pastors,
- (4) participatory prayer in various forms: loudness, wordless, fasting, or free spontaneous prayer at various times and spaces, and
- (5) close relationship between pastors and believers.

Proposing these Christian indigenous patterns, however, I do not intend or suggest that by using them folk Christians practice "Christian magic" or "magical attitude toward God" rather than "pagan magic" (which manipulates spiritual powers) as the solution to "dual allegiance." These practical indigenous patterns that I found in revival meetings and prayer meetings must be evaluated using biblical, theological, and missiological discernment. In the next chapter, I first will evaluate and then propose ways to strengthen these Korean indigenous Christian patterns.

Summary

In this chapter, I dealt with a phenomenon of "dual allegiance" among syncretistic folk Christians and tried to seek some solutions to it. As an external approach, some leaders and

pastors of Korean churches have made threats against contemporary Shamanism using public mass media in order to expel it from the society. This method seems radical and negative to those who are interested or believe in Shamanism. To them, Christianity might be considered as selfish or exclusive. As internal approaches, some Christian leaders and pastors have proposed ways to give biblical warning to syncretistic folk Christians in order to help them transform their shamanistic worldview into a biblical worldview through the method of education. Like Schreiter's elitist approach to the problem of "dual religious systems," these educational approaches are not sufficient to persuade folk Christians.

Then, following Grayson's suggestion, I have investigated Korean Christian indigenous contexts such as revival meetings (*Puheunghoi*) and prayer meetings at prayer mountain centers (*Kidowon Kidohoi*) in order to discover some Korean Christian indigenous patterns. I recognized that within these contexts indigenous Christian patterns practiced by Korean folk Christians were being used at these special times. In the next chapter, these patterns will be evaluated and strengthened by some reliable criteria which come out of Cultural Anthropology, Wesleyan theology, and the Bible itself.

Notes

1. Shamans predict or tell the future to their visitors having problems with family, business, marriage, or entering college on the basis of the "Four Pillars (Sajoo)" such as the year, month, day and hour of one's birth which are supposed to have influence upon one's fortune. Those shamans who have knowledge of I-Ching predict and interpret client's four pillars following I-Ching's principles. Shaman Pyung Won I interviewed belongs to this group. But those who have spiritual power of seeing, hearing, or feeling clients' various problems use traditional coins, small bells, rice, and some use nothing (Park 1997:177).

2. Dong-Whee Lee is president at Paul Mission Society in Junjoo City. He started and supported a movement of preventing diffusion of contemporary Korean Shamanism in society for ten years. From November 1996 to March 1997 he asked the public and members of 2,300 churches and 150 prayer mountain centers to sign petitions and take part in the opposition movement. Over 70,816 people signed. He and his Paul Mission Society have urged mass media not to support Shamanism and not to advertise it to the public (The Christian Press, 7 June 1997).

3. Most revival meetings in the past used to begin Monday night and end Saturday morning, with 14 preaching times and worship services. The first sermon formerly was about the necessity of the revival meeting and the second and third messages were related to repentance for receiving God's blessing. The third to the tenth messages were regarding the ethical and faithful life both in the church and the community. The eleventh to the last messages were about joy, peace, and ecstasy coming from the power of the Holy Spirit. Even though the period of revival meetings is shortened to three or four days, the message themes of revivalists remain unchanged (Jin-Whan Kim 1993:239).

4. Most Korean revivalists are pastors who have experiences of receiving the Holy Spirit and of making their churches grow. They understand the real situations of churches and believers' problems like barrenness, business failure, family troubles, college exams, and other daily problems. Their experiences show similarity of form, but difference of meaning between Korean Shamanism and Christianity (Shin 1997:43).

Chapter 6

Ways of Evaluating and Strengthening

Korean Christian Indigenous Patterns

In the last chapter, I introduced revival meetings (*Puheunghoi*) and prayer meetings at prayer mountain centers (*Kidowon Kidohoi*) as events where I found several Korean Christian indigenous patterns. Many features of Korean religious worldview and practice appearing in these meetings are similar to contemporary Korean Shamanism in terms of external and internal forms.¹ Comparing external forms between Christian prayer meetings and shamanistic rituals, similar forms include enthusiastic and free prayer, prayer of exorcism, dancing, and rapid music. In the case of internal forms, they share and focus upon the message of blessing and restoration through the right relationship between God and human beings. Because of similarity internal and external forms between Korean Christian indigenous patterns and shamanistic practices, many theologians have been suspicious, wondering whether these indigenous patterns are magical and actually shamanistic.

Now I need to discern biblically and theologically the meaning behind these Korean Christian indigenous patterns. After that, I will try to propose some ways of strengthening Korean Christian indigenous patterns with the aids of insights learned from phenomenology of religion. The Christian churches may

borrow, transform, and employ some useful patterns of Korean Shamanism that may contribute to strengthening the identity of Korean Christianity and making its patterns indigenous.

Evaluating Korean Christian Indigenous Patterns

Theoretical Foundations of Evaluation

Wesleyan Theology of "Means of Grace." Wesley's theological emphasis is on God's grace even though John Wesley has been misunderstood by the reformed traditions to be a humanist. Umphrey Lee, however, reevaluates John Wesley as the one who established the religion of grace in opposition to the religion of humanism (1936:313). George Croft Cell reviews John Wesley and rediscovers him to be the person who trusted God's grace (Cell 1935:16-17). Mildred Wynkoop says "Wesley's major contribution to Christian thinking was the concept and experience of the personal involvement in grace that Reformation theology seemed to have lost" (1972:56). Thomas A. Langford insists that the core of the Wesleyan theology is the grace of God (1983:24).

In fact, John Wesley could synthesize two biblical truths, God's grace and human responsibility. He did not lose either an aspect of divine sovereignty or an aspect of human freedom (Snyder 1980:143-144). He reemphasized that God's grace is not far away from human responsibility but these two elements are always connected to each other. Leo George Cox explained the close relationship between God's grace and human responsibility

in terms of "gracious ability" which is restored by God's grace and different from natural ability (1964:39-45). And Mildred Wynkoop showed that believer's faith in God's grace should include "human obedience to God," "holiness unto the Lord," and "faith working through love" (1972:168-169, 206,210,246,273).

Thus, John Wesley overcame the weakness of the Moravians who overemphasized so much God's grace (Hildebrandt 1948:14-17,66). Moravians' overemphasis on God's grace led the followers to be entrapped into "quietism" and "antinomianism"² in England in the 18th Century (Coppedge 1987:60-62). The Moravian emphasis on faith only (*Sola Fide*) contributed to focusing on God's grace absolutely, but could lead to neglecting human responsibility. They were caught in quietism and antinomianism which denied human responsibility and the means of grace like prayer, reading and hearing Scriptures, the receiving the Lord's Supper, worship, baptism, and Christian conference such as community, conversation, mutual encouragement or rebuke.

John Wesley, however, insisted that Christians should use the means of grace. He insists that "God hath in Scripture ordained prayer, reading or hearing of Scripture, and the receiving the Lord's Supper as the ordinary means of conveying His grace to man" (Curnock 1938:360). Wesley was convinced that

total dependence on God's grace did not mean abandoning the use of the means of grace (Snyder 1980:46).

In this way, we can evaluate Korean Christian indigenous patterns to be the means of grace (specifically the means of grace fitted to Korean culture) in terms of Wesleyan theology. This Wesleyan theology of "means of grace" would broaden the way Korean Christian churches view Korean Christian indigenous patterns. For example, a Korean Christian indigenous pattern of free spontaneous prayer can be seen as participatory prayer and as "a means of grace." A Korean Christian pattern of close relationship between pastors and believers also becomes "a means of grace" of "mutual encouragement." And a Korean Christian pattern of receiving of messages regarding "restoration" can be "a means of grace" of "hearing God's words."

Whiteman's Concepts of Conversion and Indigenization. I will evaluate the indigenous religious patterns of the Christian churches in Korea by using Darrell Whiteman's concepts of conversion and indigenization. According to Whiteman, "conversion is not a change from non-faith to faith; instead, it is a shift from one faith to another, from allegiance to ancestral spirits to allegiance to Jesus Christ" (1983:371). I believe that this concept of conversion can be crucial to evaluating Korean Christian indigenous patterns, and should be

used by Korean churches to instruct folk Christians how to give allegiance to Jesus Christ.

The concept of indigenization is also important to the evaluation of Korean Christian indigenous patterns. According to Whiteman, "indigenization is a cultural process in which indigenes attempt to take something borrowed from outside their culture and make it their own" (1983:412). He explains it in terms of form and meaning. He says, "indigenous Christianity... [involves] employing traditional forms to express the new meaning found in Christianity" (1983:417). It means that Korean Christians do not automatically need to change their traditional forms in order to believe in Jesus Christ. The Christian messages can become incarnate in Korean traditional culture and situations. The following figure, taken from Burnett, is helpful to understand the form and meaning analysis:

		MEANING	
		Foreign	Indigenous
FORMS	Foreign	Cultural Conversion or Foreign Christianity	Syncretism or "Dual Religious Systems"
	Indigenous	Indigenous Christianity	Traditional Shamanism

Figure 4. Relationship between form and meaning in culture
(Adapted from Burnett 1990:134)

Figure 4 shows the relationships between form/meaning and culture. If one has both the foreign form and the foreign meaning, it is called as "cultural conversion." If one rejects both the foreign form and meaning, it remains "traditional." Syncretism occurs where the forms are changed to those advocated by the new culture while traditional ideological principles remain. However, indigenization occurs where local indigenous forms are used to express the new foreign ideas (Burnett 1990:133-135).

This form and meaning analysis can be helpful to understand Korean Christian indigenous patterns. For instance, the Christian indigenous pattern of prayer in mountains has a Korean indigenous form that is used by Korean Shamanism, but it has a foreign Christian meaning that is connected to Jesus Christ not to shamanistic spirits. Thus, a Korean Christian pattern of enthusiastic prayer in Shamanism, according to his formula, should be considered an example of Korean indigenous Christianity (or in Wesleyan terms, a Korean means of grace). A Korean indigenous pattern of the concept of "restoration" can be a Christian indigenous form which has Christian meaning of salvation. Christian salvation can be explained and interpreted in terms of restoration as revivalists do by saying that the broken relationship between God and human beings can be restored by the work of Jesus Christ (John 1:12; 15:14-15; Romans 5:8) (or

in Wesleyan terms, the hearing of Scripture in this way is a Korean means of grace).

In this way, by using Whiteman's concepts of conversion and indigenization, it can be verified that these religious patterns of Korean churches are not necessarily syncretistic, but have great potential of being indigenous. I believe that it is syncretistic only if Korean Christians remain confused and use it in a magical or manipulative way, and also continue to believe in shamanistic spirits and to visit shamans for divination, magic, and healing. This is the place at which Christian teaching becomes useful--not to suppress shamanistic but to express Christian meanings.

I believe it is possible for Christian churches to avoid accusing Korean indigenous patterns of being syncretistic; but even more, it is possible to encourage folk Christians to retain important Korean cultural patterns within their Christian experience.

The Biblical Foundations. The Bible itself supports indigenization or contextualization of the Christians' faith in God. This is a good biblical foundation for the use of Korean Christian indigenous patterns in churches.

1. Old Testament

The Old Testament reflects an interaction between the surrounding nations. We can find some of their religious

patterns adopted into the religion of the Hebrews. Yahweh chose Israel to be God's people and transformed many of their rituals and cultural forms, thus endorsing these for perpetual implementation by his people (Davies 1997:198). For instance, in Genesis 15, the covenant ritual of walking between divided sacrifices belonged to the Cananite culture as a sign of willingness to be dismembered, as the sacrifices, if either party broke the covenant. But it was reinterpreted and adopted into the covenant ritual between God and Abraham (Rowley 1967:37).

In the case of the rite of circumcision, the Israelites were not distinguished from the Semitic population of Palestine in the fact of circumcision. When they settled in Canaan, they adopted this custom (cf. Genesis 17:9-14; 23-27; Joshua 5:2-9). In fact, circumcision was a transition rite of puberty or an initiation rite before marriage which introduced a man into the common life of the clan in Israel (Genesis 34; Exodus 4:25-26). The Hebrew word for bridegroom is derived from the same root, HATAN, which means in Arabic "to circumcise." But it was adopted and transformed with divine content by its use on infants after birth (De Vaux 1961:47-48).

We can find other examples of indigenization in the Old Testament. Israel's festival of the Passover feast was a nomadic springtime festival of offering of the first-born of the flock in order to ward off evil from flock and home, but it became the

rite of the commemoration of the Exodus out of Egypt (Rowley 1967:37). The architecture and design of both the tabernacle and the temple employed the same constructional techniques as in actual use in Egypt long before the time of Moses (Exodus 25:8; 1 Chronicles 28:11,19ff) (Davies 1997:203).³ The biblical wisdom literature used knowledge common to all cultures and human experiences borrowed from foreign wisdom literature (Davies 1997:203). For instance, Proverbs 31:1-9 is written by a non-Israelite woman who was king Lemuel's mother and the queen mother of the Arab kingdom of Masseh (Genesis 25:14). King Lemuel's mother expresses a common ideal of kingship in the ancient Near East which was also Israel's ideal (Psalm 72:12-14) and became the Messianic ideal (Isaiah 11:4).

As we see from the above examples of indigenization, it is clear that the meanings were changed but the forms continued to exist. Even though existing cultural forms were borrowed, those were reinterpreted, and adopted into Hebrew culture and religion in order to acknowledge God's lordship over the neighbouring culture and religion. And also those cultural forms were given new values and meanings for God's sake (Nicholls 1979:46).

At the same time, it is interesting to consider that some unacceptable patterns originating in the other religious traditions of Egypt, Babylonian, and Canaan were eliminated from the Hebrew culture. These are as follows: idolatry, sexual

immorality, corrupt economic and political practices, Egyptian and Babylonian rites and rituals for death and the after-life, ancestor worship, and child sacrifice. Especially, the immoral features of the Baal-cult such as religious prostitution were rejected (Robinson 1964:45).

2. New Testament

The New Testament also supports indigenization of Christian faith in culture. It used indigenous words and concepts to communicate the Christian message to those who spoke and thought in various cultural patterns (Davies 1997:207-211). The Gospel of Matthew was written to Jewish people in a Jewish method: it is divided into three, five, and seven sections by using blocks of narrative followed by teaching (Matthew 1:1-17; 4:1-25; 5:1-12). Mark interpreted certain Aramaic words into Greek (Mark 6:27; 7:4; 12:42) and used a simple and direct journalistic style which appealed to the Roman mind-set. Luke had cosmopolitan and universal appeal with its emphasis on women and the poor (Luke 1:1-4; 4:38; 7:11-17; 37-50; 12:13-31; 18:18-30). John explained the nature of Christ by using the culturally relevant term, "logos" which was used in Greek philosophy (John 1:1-11). John used the word to express the new meaning of the pre-existence of Christ. Paul wrote letters concerning the real situations and contexts such as sexual immorality in Corinth, the problem with Judaizers in Galatia, and Gnosticism in Colossae. It was Jesus

himself who did not abandon the form of baptism which was used in Judaism and other religious traditions. Rather, Jesus adopted it and gave it a new meaning. The Lord's Supper is another example; Jesus used the form of the Jewish Passover Meal to express the meaning of his death (Luke 14:14-23).

A good example of the issue of indigenization or contextualization within the non-Jewish population is depicted in Acts Chapter 15. The council of Jerusalem decided that the Gentiles were not compelled to observe circumcision according to the Law of Moses but they must also meet certain regulations in the Old Testament law against "things contaminated by idols" (Leviticus 19:4), "fornication" (Leviticus 18:6-10), and eating "what is strangled and from blood" (Leviticus 17:10-14).

Therefore it is my judgment that we do not trouble those who are turning to God from among the Gentiles, but that we write to them that they abstain from things contaminated by idols and from fornication and from what is strangled and from blood. (Acts 15:19-20)

The decision of the Jerusalem Council contributed to rethinking the culture and religion of the Gentiles. And it made a clear distinction between some acceptable cultural forms and also some unacceptable syncretistic forms.

In sum, the Bible itself supports indigenization or contextualization which God initiated and inspired to be applied to the cultural context. Thus, it is important to understand that God is validating many cultural forms by using what are

there and transforming them with new meanings for his usage. This understanding may make Korean Christians willing to borrow from their own culture to express their faith in God and to worship him. But there is also the danger of syncretism which leads people to have magical or manipulative attitudes toward God.

In the case of Korean Christian indigenous patterns, we should be cautious and discern if these patterns are likely to be used in a magical way. First, folk Christians should be reminded that Christian religion is different from Shamanism. According to Eliade, Christian religious encounter with God should be "theophany as manifestation of a deity," recognition of the personal relationship between human beings and God. In other words, both parties do not ignore each other but respect each other's personhood. There must be no room for manipulation in Christian patterns. In fact, Shamanism is a kind of "kratophany as manifestations of power" and shamans or their followers can control spirit beings (Eliade 1960:124-127). However, Korean indigenous Christianity strongly focuses on receiving the power of the Holy Spirit, as we have already seen in previous chapters. The revivalists and pastors encourage believers to receive the power of the Holy Spirit. Believers make free spontaneous prayer with loud voices to experience the power of the Holy Spirit. To the eyes of Westerners or educated people, it seems to be a

phenomenon of "kratophany." But if one listens carefully to the contents of their prayer, it is hard to say "such a prayer is magical, done to get spiritual power." I introduce such a prayer here. I heard it at a prayer meeting in Osanri Prayer Mountain Center on May 6th. A pastor led a time of prayer using a microphone after singing several hymns. He prayed:

Lord! Lord! Lord!

We, who are sick and poor, are gathered together having many problems of illness, business failure, and national economic crisis, in your presence. By the power of the Holy Spirit, by the fire of the Holy Spirit, by the fullness of the Holy Spirit, please, answer our prayers. With your healing power, please make us whole and be healed in order to serve You and Your church. (Noh 1997a:56)

In this prayer, the power of the Holy Spirit is expected but the emphasis of the prayer is not the "power" but "the person of the Holy Spirit" who can give the power. The pastor who prayed for the power of the Holy Spirit did not control or manipulate the Holy Spirit. Rather his prayer is relational, he wanted to work for God and the church with his restored body and soul by the power of the Holy Spirit.

Second, folk Christians should not accept the magical forms of Shamanism.⁴ There are definite "Sodomie elements" the Bible clearly denies to be practiced by Christians: divination, calling up the dead spirits, and bowing down before idols (Deuteronomy 18:10-11). As already seen before, the Sodomie factor indicates sinful aspects of culture and religion that emerge from the magical attitude of human beings toward God (Richardson 1981:32-

33). The mistake of Hyun Kyung Chung, professor at Union Theological Seminary in New York, was that she did not make any distinction between acceptable forms and unacceptable forms in Korean Shamanism. Her presentation at Canberra, at the February 1991 International Assembly of the World Council of Churches adopted a shamanistic form of an invocation (Ursula King, ed. 1994:392-394). She even evoked the dead spirits, *Han* ridden spirits, as well as the Spirit of Jesus who died in *Han*. Chung's way of presentation caused unacceptable shamanistic syncretism in which she used the same magical way of calling up the dead spirits as well as the Holy Spirit. My approach is not like Chung's approach in which the Holy Spirit is identified with shamanistic dead spirits or the spirit of Bodhisattva and is being manipulated by human beings.

Third, the discernment of these patterns used by Korean Christians also depends on the motivations of believers who practice them. Private as well as public discernment is a biblical principle; and checking of motives occurs as believers enter into certain religious practices--the Holy Spirit and believers participate together in the process (Acts 8:26-28; Jeremiah 33:3). Since God and his people have "a personal relation through love," people should not be selfish (Wynkoop 1972:168-169). Pure motivation and love to God are important features for folk Christians; they do not intend to pray for the

sake of themselves but for God and God's Kingdom. Korean revivalists emphasize this feature in their sermons:

You pray for God and God's Kingdom!
 You pray that you dedicate yourselves to God's work!
 Then, if God wants to use you, whoever is sick, God will
 heal you for his Kingdom. Whoever is poor, God shall make
 you be abundant for his work! If you have problems, pray
 for God and God's Kingdom instead of praying for yourselves!
 (Noh 1997a:62)

This is another way of being free from the magical attitude or Christian magic. Whenever folk Christians meet life's struggles, they also do not try to manipulate God but ask for help and guidance through prayer to the mediator, Jesus Christ. In this way, Christians can participate in the redemptive work of Christ.

Practical Application of Evaluation

Some people regard a Korean pastor as a shaman, and prayer as a magical tool to obtain his or her own desires (Yoo 1986:74). Yonggi Cho, Senior Pastor at Yoido Full Gospel Church, has been criticized as being a Christianized shaman and syncretistic. There are some strong critiques. His ten-year period of illness is almost identical with the shaman's sickness and his receiving reassurance from the Holy Spirit can be likened to the shaman receiving a talisman from his or her spirit (Adams 1991:41). Cho's emphasis on physical healing and material blessings is the same concern as seen in Shamanism. His prayer meetings and shamanistic rituals are different expressions of the same needs

(Harvey 1987:150). His way of prayer is similar to the way in which shamans manipulate the spirit world for their own benefit (Douglass 1991:22). His role in Sunday morning worship looks like that of a shaman (Yoo 1986:74). Thus, he is criticized by many theologians of having lost the biblical emphasis on the incarnation of Christ and a theology of the cross (Douglass 1991:23; Son 1983:337-339).

Others, however, regard Cho as a master of contextualization in his use of shamanistic elements as a means for communicating the gospel (Adams 1991:41). Cho is seen as causing a minimum of cultural dislocation, thus making it easier for Koreans to become Christians. Adams evaluates Cho and his church as an indigenous religious movement (Adams 1991:44).

Based upon Whiteman's concept of conversion and indigenization⁵, I agree with Adams that Cho and his church are not syncretistic, but indigenous. It is clear that Cho and his church rely on the Holy Spirit, not shamanistic spirits. Followers are converted from allegiance to spirits to allegiance to Jesus Christ. Furthermore, I do not agree with Son and Douglass who accuse Cho and his church of being syncretistic because of the use of traditional shamanistic forms. I believe, rather, Cho and his church have evolved into a form of indigenous folk Christianity which employs traditional shamanistic forms such as loud prayer, free prayer, and enthusiastic prayer on

mountains to express a new meaning found in Christianity. I believe Cho and his church recover the holistic gospel including physical and spiritual salvation.⁶

Strengthening of Korean Christian

Indigenous Patterns

Korean Christian patterns such as free and enthusiastic prayer, the concept of restoration, and close relationship between pastors and believers which can be found at revival meetings and prayer meetings are very similar to those of contemporary Korean Shamanism. Thus, some scholars insist that these are to be purged from Korean Christianity in order to maintain the purity of churches. For instance, as already seen before, the conservative Christian people see the relationship between Shamanism and Christianity as a negative one. Although there are many positive sides of Christian indigenous patterns, they try to find only the negative sides of the patterns found in revival meetings and prayer meetings at prayer mountain centers. They emphasize so much "God's sovereignty" and "spiritual blessing in Christ" which are only awarded to God's elected ones (Ephesians 1:3). Rather, they do not consider the other aspects of the gospel such as healing and the material blessing (Isaiah 53:4-5; John 1:2). These are judged as shamanistic things which should be purged from Christianity (Hun-Ku Lee 1991:180-234). Furthermore, the Christian indigenous patterns such as

participatory prayer, free and enthusiastic prayer, worshipping God through offering money, the concept of restoration, belief in empowerment of pastors, and close relationship between pastors and believers are accused of being shamanistic because of their similarity to the forms of Shamanism. These Christians do not make any clear distinction between form and meaning nor do they consider indigenization or contextualization of Christianity to be of any value in Korea.

On a superficial level their sayings appear to be right; but if what they propose is done, Christianity in Korea may lose the unique identity that makes it "Korean Christianity."

There are some insights out of Korean Shamanism that can be useful and acceptable in Korean Christianity in order to strengthen already existing Korean Christian indigenous patterns. Here we need missiological insights by which we may find some useful insights out of Korean Shamanism that may contribute to strengthening the identity of Korean Christianity and developing its indigenous patterns.

Theoretical Foundations of Strengthening the Patterns

The Wesleyan Theology of Prevenient Grace. Although the term "prevenient grace" was first coined by Augustine, and the old Franciscan School used it to indicate the "law" which prepared one for "real grace" which came only through the

sacraments, the Wesleyan theology of prevenient grace can be helpful here in providing a missiological bridge (Tuttle 1992: 44).

"Prevenient grace" means God's grace "goes before" (Latin, *praevenire*, to come before) human beings' ability to turn to God which makes all human beings have ability to participate in God's plan of redemption (Snyder 1980:145). Although Wesley used the term "preventing grace" for what most Christians refer to as "prevenient grace," the result is the same: it includes "the first wish to please God, the first dawn of light concerning his will, the first slight transient conviction of having sinned against him" (1872a:509). In another place Wesley indicated that "prevenient grace" includes free will supernaturally restored to every human being, and the very power to "work together with Him" (1872c:227-228).

Prevenient grace is slightly different from Calvin's concept of common grace. Common or general grace plays no part in God's plan of salvation because of Calvin's emphasis of unconditional election (Snyder 1980:145). John Wesley, however, expanded his understanding of prevenient grace beyond the common grace of Calvinism (Tuttle 1992:42-45). According to Wesley, God offers his grace in order to restore free will or ability to participate in his redemptive work to his to all human beings and "in every human heart, passing sentence concerning good and evil, not only

in all Christians, but in all Mahometans, all Pagans, yea, the vilest of savages" (Wesley 1872b:345).

Colin Williams, following this theology, interprets prevenient grace as God's working in the lives of all people prior to salvation (1960:45-46). Robert Tuttle, a Wesleyan theologian, insists that the term "prevenient grace" quite simply refers to the work of the Holy Spirit in the life of the believer (or at least potential believer) prior to conversion (1992:42-43). In this way, we can have a missiological bridge to other religious people. Since God provides all human beings, including those who are influenced by Korean Shamanism, with his prevenient grace even before their repentance and conversion, we can find some of God's work among them. God is universally working in all religious (or non-religious) people with his prevenient grace in order to guarantee they "respond, if not to the name, at least to the person of Jesus Christ" (Tuttle 1992:46). The Holy Spirit enlightens everyone's light and quickens good desires after God (Wesley 1872a:512).

This Wesleyan theology of prevenient grace would broaden the way Korean Christian churches view the religious impulses that are righteous reflected in contemporary Shamanism and operating in those who are influenced by it. This Wesleyan understanding of prevenient grace--God's grace is equally and universally bestowed upon Koreans--may open their minds to learn something

from contemporary shamanistic religious patterns. They may adapt and transform them in order to strengthen the indigenous Christian religious patterns.

Don Richardson's Analysis: A Biblical Discernment. After applying the Wesleyan understanding of prevenient grace, the meaning of the shamanistic beliefs and practices should be discerned through use of the Bible with the aid of Don Richardson's analysis.

Regarding culture and religion, Richardson uses the terms "the Abraham factor," "the Melchizedek factor," and "the Sodomie factor" (1981:32-33).⁷ Using these terms, Richardson explains the faith of the Hebrews as they came into the land of Canaan and how they were to relate to the culture and religion of the indigenous population. He distinguishes the truly friendly "Melchizedek factor" among the Canaanites from the other dark "Sodomie factor" of Canaanite culture. When "the Abraham factor," the specific revelation of God to Abraham, meets cultures and religion, it responds to "the Melchizedek factor" and adapts it (1981:27-32). For instance, the name of El Elyon (the Most High) of Melchizedek, a name for God in Canaanite language, was adapted by Abraham for depicting the Almighty God of the Hebrews (Genesis 14). In fact, the Old Testament contains frequent usage of Canaanite metaphors, formulations, and ideologies. For instance, Anton Wessels, an Old Testament

scholar, finds the frequent use of the number seven: God's call of Moses on the seventh day (Exodus 24:16), the seven days of creation (Genesis 1, 2), and the fall of Jericho on the seventh day after seven priests blew seven trumpets after marching around the city seven times (Joshua 6). This preference for the number seven follows a Canaanite pattern as well (Wessels 1984:54-55). Therefore, the Bible itself supports the "Melchizedek factor" among Canaanite culture and religion.

The negative "Sodom factor," however, in contrast to the "Abraham factor" was not accepted. Abraham lived and was separated from the city of Sodom; and later the Lord destroyed the city and its people because of its wickedness against God, its sinful sexual debauchery, human haughtiness, and violation of hospitality (Genesis 18, 19). The "Sodom factor" can be distinguished by the temple prostitution, which is related to the fertility rites. Human sacrifice, which is primarily the sacrifice of children to Moloch, is a typical example of the "Sodom factor" (Leviticus 18:21; 20:2-5; II Kings 23:10; Jeremiah 32:35) (Wessels 1984:63-64).

Richardson's approach is a close parallel to the investigation of Korean Christian indigenous patterns, as well as beliefs and practices of folk Christians--it acknowledges two conflicting tendencies within a tradition that are judged only on the basis of a divine revelation. In this sense, when we discern

or evaluate the beliefs and practices of contemporary Korean Shamanism, we have to operate cautiously.

In my field research I found both "Sodomitic" and "Melchizedek" elements in contemporary Korean Shamanism. Manipulation or controlling of the spirits for the shamans' own purpose belongs to "Sodomitic" category. The spirit worship and divination with the aids of the spirits also are "Sodomitic."

However, there exist some "Melchizedek" elements in contemporary Korean Shamanism: an indigenous form of prayer in loud voices, sacred times and spaces, close relationship between shamans and clients, and the message of "restoration" or "harmony." As we already mentioned, the idea of *Hananim*, evil in the world, personal blessings, and benevolent and evil spirits can be regarded as "Melchizedek" factors.

Therefore, when we discern the beliefs and practices of Korean Shamanism, we have to distinguish some good aspects, the "Melchizedek factors" of Shamanism, that should be encouraged to remain, and some "Sodomitic factors" of culture that should be excluded on the basis of the "Abrahamic factor;" that is, God's self revelation in the Bible. Thus, the patterns of Korean indigenous Christianity should be evaluated and strengthened by the method of Richardson.

In sum, the Wesleyan theology of prevenient grace can provide a missiological bridge in order to value something from

contemporary shamanistic religious patterns. Through the discernment of the beliefs and practices of contemporary Korean Shamanism by comparison of these to the pattern of biblical Christianity, following Don Richardson's model, we acknowledge that there are some positive aspects in Shamanism.

Practical Applications of Strengthening the Patterns

Having gotten the insights from the phenomenological understanding of contemporary Korean Shamanism, I will adopt some of these insights to strengthen existing Korean Christian indigenous patterns. I will look specifically at such patterns as: (1) emphasizing and receiving of messages regarding "restoration" and "blessings" through right relationship between God and believers, (2) participatory prayer in various forms of loudness, wordless, fasting, or free spontaneous in various times and spaces, (3) worshipping God through offering time and materials, (4) empowerment of pastors, and (5) close relationship between pastors and believers. These Christian indigenous patterns fit well with a phenomenological description. They also can be categorized into six areas: sacred time, sacred space, sacred words from God, sacred words to God, sacred action, and sacred person. I will discuss these patterns and propose practical ways of strengthening them in order to respond challenge of contemporary Korean Shamanism.

Korean Sacred Time: 21, 40 days and nights, and Danoh. In contemporary Korean Shamanism, there are many kinds of sacred time in which shamans pray to their spirits: early in the morning, a whole day and night, three days and nights, seven days and nights, 21 days and nights, and 100 days and nights.

Christian churches may adopt its various forms of sacred time for prayer and transform the meaning of them. Korean churches may develop a form of 21 days of early morning prayer and of 40 days of early morning prayer. These days, 21 and 40, can be used particularly because they are found in the Bible. The prophet Daniel fasted and prayed to God for his nation for 21 days (Daniel 10:2-3). After Daniel fasted and prayed to God for his nation's security, he received strengthening and peace from God (Daniel 10:19). Jesus Christ prayed to God in the early morning and fasted and prayed for 40 days and nights (Mark 1:35; Matthew 4:1-12).

In seasonal times, the first day of the year *Seolnal* (the very beginning day of the year) and the 15th day of August *Chuseok* (Korean Thanksgiving Day) are sacred times in contemporary Korean Shamanism which already have been adopted and transformed in Christian churches in Korea. Some churches have special worship services on these days. But the sacred day of *Danoh* (the brightest day of the year) is not yet accepted in Korean Christian churches. In contemporary Korean Shamanism,

they practice a big *Kut* ritual for national security and people's prosperity on the fifth day of May according to the lunar calendar because the day is called *Danoh*, the brightest day of the year. But most Christians ignore that ritual.

Christian churches may adopt the day of *Danoh* to be celebrated and dedicated to the worship of God, the Creator of the light, and praying for national security and people's blessing. Christian churches may transform or convert the traditional idea of the light into the biblical concept. If the true light is Jesus Christ, the day of *Danoh* (*the brightest day of the Year*) can be the day of worshipping Jesus Christ. The Bible supports that God is the Creator of the light (Genesis 1:3) and Jesus Christ is the true Light who gives light to all mankind (John 1:4-9). Korean churches can strengthen their worship services and at the same time be responsive to the challenge of contemporary Korean Shamanism.

Sacred Space: Mountains, Churches, and Pastor's Office.

In contemporary Korean Shamanism, three sacred places exist: mountains, sacred places for *Kut* rituals, and shamans' sacred rooms. Mountains are sacred places for meeting spirits or *Sansin* (the mountain god). Private *Kut* rituals are held in sacred places for *Kut* rituals. And contemporary shamans have their special sacred rooms having the altar in which they met clients and made divination.

Christian churches may adopt these three sacred places to strengthen existing Christian indigenous patterns of sacred places: mountains for prayer,⁸ churches for worship rituals, and pastor's office for counselling or meeting believers. The mountains and the church as sacred places have been emphasized in Korean Christianity. The pastor's office as a sacred place is a new idea that still may be developed. Although not yet expressed in such terms, pastors should have a special room as a sacred place for private worship of God and for use in meeting believers to counsel them. If the pastor's office continues to be considered as a profane or professional place, folk Christians do not want to go to pastors for their spiritual problems because it seems to them to be a secular place. If this was changed, then the pastor's office as a sacred place might contribute to meeting more needs of folk Christians. And they might not desire to visit shamans' houses but churches.

Sacred Word from God: Messages. Contemporary Shamanism has treated the *Han* of the common people.⁹ In fact, the term *Han*, a Korean term used to describe the depths of human suffering by oppression and injustice, is used in Korean Shamanism; the main goal of Shamanism is the resolution of the *Han* of people (Park 1993:174-176). The way of resolving *Han* is "restoration" between human beings and spirits in Shamanism through *Kut* rituals.

Christian churches may adopt and transform shamanistic ways of resolving *Han* and develop and strengthen the existing Christian indigenous pattern by emphasizing "restoration" through right relationship between God and believers in pastoral messages. This is a Christian indigenous way of treating the *Han* of people.¹⁰

Then, pastors may preach the message about "God's blessings" that is the best way of escaping *Han*-ridden lives. Yonggi Cho added the doctrine of blessing onto A. B. Simpson's fourfold gospel and made a newly developed fivefold gospel. He insists that Christian believers need to get rid of the *Han* of spiritual sins, sickness, poverty, and death with the five-fold gospel: such as regeneration, sanctification, divine healing, second coming of Jesus Christ, and the material blessings from God (Cho 1991b:47-55,251-260).

Sacred Word to God: Prayer. Contemporary Korean Shamanism has more dynamic forms of prayer: enthusiastic and free prayers in accordance with daily problems. Korean churches may adopt various forms of prayer from Shamanism and transform their meanings in order to meet the needs of those having everyday problems such as sickness, business failure, and family problem. These dynamic forms of prayer can strengthen the Christian indigenous pattern of participatory prayer in various ways:

loudness, wordless, fasting, or free spontaneous in various times and spaces.

Sacred Action: Offering

In contemporary Korean Shamanism, offering as a sacred action has two different motives: the one is a meaning of love and the other is a meaning of bribe. Clients expect that a money offering is the best devotion of themselves by which to please spirits and get blessings and love from spirits.

In applying this insight in order to strengthen the Korean Christian indigenous pattern of offering, we have to be cautious. Influenced by this insight, there already exists a Korean indigenous Christian pattern of offering that emphasizes in a manipulative way that the more believers offer at the altar, the more blessings they receive. This idea is contrary to the spirit of the Christian emphasis that the offering should be thanksgiving gift directed to God without expecting to receive (Psalms 50:10-15). In strengthening the pattern of offering, the spirit of love to God is more focused than rewards from God by offering.

Sacred Person: Pastors and Priesthood of Believers

In contemporary Shamanism, shamans are sacred specialists who represent a form of sacredness. There exists already a Korean Christian indigenous pattern of belief in empowerment of pastors. In revival meetings and prayer meetings, pastors

practice the laying on of their hands and people believe that God is working through the pastors. However, in applying this insight from Shamanism, we should be cautious: pastors are neither sacred people in the church nor real mediators between God and people. It is Jesus Christ who is the only mediator; but as the great High Priest, he transfers some functions of his priesthood to pastors and believers (Hebrews 4:14; 6:20; 7:24-28).

In this sense, the indigenous pattern of belief in empowerment of pastors can be broadened and strengthened when it is applied to lay leaders. According to Howard Snyder, all believers are priests, servants and gifted ministers for God's Kingdom (1996:168-180; 1997a:306-307). The Bible refers to the priesthood of believers in the church. Under the high priesthood of Jesus all believers have direct access to "[God's] throne of grace with confidence" (Hebrew 4:16) and become priests to each other with their gifts given by the Holy Spirit for God's Kingdom (1 Corinthians 12; Romans 12; and Ephesians 4:11-12). Therefore, all believers including pastors are parts of the body of Christ, they can serve God's Kingdom in the freedom of the Spirit of the Lord (2 Corinthians 3:17; Galatians 5:13).

Furthermore, the Christian indigenous pattern of close relationship between pastors and believers should be strengthened by applying some insights that come from Shamanism. In

shamanistic private *Kut* ritual, shamans spend an hour or two for a client individually. Even in public *Kut* rituals, shamans make divination for every individual and give a cup of strong wine to everyone who participates in the ritual. Applying the insights from Shamanism, Christian pastors should develop a close relationship with believers in private or public worship services. In a practical approach, pastors may adopt the form of "delivering messages" from Shamanism. Christian churches may take and transform this shamanistic concept of "delivering a message" particularly when it is employed in counseling or used to create a more person-oriented form of Christian sermon, in order to develop close relationship between pastors and believers. In preparation for Christian sermons and counseling, then, pastors must saturate themselves with the Bible and the Holy Spirit so that they may give adequate solutions to those having different problems.

However, in the major pastoral area of discipling, pastors meet a dilemma. They do not have enough time to disciple an entire congregation. Howard Snyder insists, on the basis of the Bible, that since the chief priority of pastoral leadership is not preaching and evangelism but discipling men and women--both taking care of believers and transforming them into priests, ministers and servants in their own right--pastors, for the Kingdom of God, are to develop a small group of disciples who

become lay ministers and disciples (1996:246-255). Even though Korean pastors recognize that the Great Commission of Jesus Christ is to make disciples (Matthew 28:19) and God has gifted pastors to equip his people for ministry (Ephesians 4:11-12), in fact they do not make all people disciples. Korean churches understand the importance of discipleship in the lives of believers, but the church leaders regard it as an intellectual training for the middle-class believers, and focus the discipling process on gaining cognitive information. The intellectual training does not fit the needs of folk Christians and is not relevant to their culture. We must develop different method that is sufficient in making folk Christians follow Jesus Christ and to be his disciples in their everyday lives.

Toward this end, it is helpful to know that the class meeting¹¹ of John Wesley was not for lecturing or preaching biblical information or doctrinal ideology but for personal supervision of people's spiritual growth--their attainment of personal holiness, or what Wesley called "perfect love," or the character of Christ (Henderson 1997:98,100). Leaders of the class meetings were lay believers, including women, of early Methodism--Elizabeth Ritchie, Hester Ann Rogers, Agnes Bulmer, Mary Bosanquet (Henderson 1997:98). In the class meetings, there was intimate spiritual relationship among believers without recognizing social barriers. They met in homes, shops,

schoolrooms, attics, even coal-bins wherever there was room for ten or twelve people to assemble. During the class meeting, after singing a short hymn, the leader stated the condition of his or her own spiritual life including a short testimony about the previous week's daily experience, thanking God for progress and sharing any failures, sins, temptations, griefs, and inner struggles (Henderson 1997:99). And then believers shared their personal experiences and prayed together in a climate of acceptance and commitment, sincere encouragements, and intimate friendships among the members of the class meeting. They had three categories of behaviors to follow: prohibitions of "taking of name of God in vain, drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors, fighting," exhortations of "doing good, giving food to the hungry, and visiting or helping the sick," and helpful practices of "family and private prayer, and searching the Scriptures" which were known as the "means of grace" (Henderson 1997:96-101).

Applying these insights of Wesley's class meeting, pastors or lay leaders may encourage Korean folk Christians through the intimate relationship to be disciples of Jesus Christ within their practical or everyday lives by participating in the context of the class meeting and by using "means of grace" in it. As pastors use the class meeting led by lay leadership, the pastoral ministry expands to meet more needs of folk Christians

and the Korean Christian religious pattern of close relationship between pastors and believers can be broadened and strengthened.

Summary

Korean indigenous patterns, shared between two competing religions like Christianity and Shamanism, should not be purged from contemporary Korean Christianity. I have suggested some theoretical foundations from Wesleyan theology, Don Richardson's and Darrell Whiteman's analysis of cultural and religious form and meanings in order to evaluate and strengthen these patterns to be used appropriately in Korean Christianity. These patterns, like sacred time and space, sacred words such as various forms of prayer and messages, sacred action of the offering, and sacred person may be developed by Korean Christianity in order to respond the challenge of contemporary Korean Shamanism and to strengthen the local identity of contemporary Korean Christianity. The patterns I have suggested in this chapter are a few among many other patterns. Thus, the study should be carried on by other persons who may see ways to develop additional indigenous forms.

Notes

1. The words "external" and "internal" forms refer to "the external world of phenomena" such as sacred objects, sacred space and time, sacred action, sacred word, sacred person and "the internal world of concepts and experiences" such as the deity, salvation, visions, and auditions.

2. Before and after John Wesley's conversion experience at Aldersgate Street in England, he started a small religious group meeting for prayer and confession with some Moravians and Peter Boeler at Fetter Lain. But Wesley left the meeting of the Fetter Lain Society because he did not agree with Moravians' quietism and antinomianism. Quietism means believers should remain "still" or "quiet" until they received true faith and believers should not use the means of grace in order to get true faith. Antinomianism refers to a tendency of denying human moral responsibility to do right things (Snyder 1980:40-45; Coppedge 1987:57-62).

3. The layout of the "holy of holies" was different and the whole structure which was given directly to Moses and David by God (Exodus 25:8; 1 Chronicles 28:11, 19ff) was not exactly the same as those in Egypt.

4. The magical forms of Shamanism are closely connected with the attitude of manipulation.

5. According to Darrell L. Whiteman, "Conversion is not a change from non-faith to faith; instead, it is a shift from one faith to another, from allegiance to ancestral spirits to allegiance to Jesus Christ" (1983:371). I believe that this concept of conversion can be critical to understanding indigenization. He explains it in terms of form and meaning, "indigenous Christianity... employing traditional forms to express the new meaning found in Christianity" (1983:147). It implies that Korean Christians do not automatically need to change their traditional forms in order to believe in Jesus Christ. The Christian messages can become incarnate in Korean culture and situations.

6. In Cho's theology of the fourth dimension, he explains clearly the aspect of the holistic gospel and the interconnectedness between the physical world and the spiritual world. Among four dimensions of reality, the first dimension, a line, and the second dimension, a plane, are contained and controlled by the third dimension, the cube. Using this metaphor of geometry and its dimensions, he asserts that the material world and physical world belongs to the third dimension. The

third dimension, however, is controlled by the fourth dimension, the spiritual world. In other words, spiritual world controls physical world (Cho 1991a:43-73).

Then, this kind of thought is a traditional shamanistic idea, but this theology of the fourth dimension is also based on the Bible. Cho insists that this idea comes from Genesis 1:2; "and the earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." In his interpretation of this verse, the Spirit of God is available and working in the physical world, and the power of God recreates a new order from the old chaos, beauty from ugliness and void, and abundance from poverty (1991a:45-47). Therefore, in his theology of the fourth dimension, it is sure that he adopts the shamanistic internal form of thinking to express Christian biblical ideas. I believe Cho's theology is not syncretistic but indigenous.

7. The "Abraham factor" means God's special revelation in the Bible and the "Melchizedek factor" refers to God's general revelation in human consciousness and nature. The "Sodom factor" indicates sinful aspects of culture and religion that emerge from the magical attitude of human beings toward God.

8. Especially, Christian pastors like shamans can go to mountains for renewing their calling from God and getting the power of the Holy Spirit. The mountains as sacred places can be adopted and converted from the shamanistic meaning, that is, meeting the mountain spirit, into the Christian meaning, that is the sacred place for meeting Christian God.

The insight that mountains are sacred places in which people meet God is found in the biblical passages. Moses met God in Horeb the mountain of God and Elijah met God in the mountain of God Horeb to get their callings and to renew their callings to serve God and his people (Exodus 3:1; 1 Kings 19:8-12). Jesus had a habit of prayer in mountains. He came to the Mount of Olives to pray to God (Luke 22:39-46).

9. Beyond the individual level of *Han*, there are many stories of the unconscious *Han* of the group or race. This *Han* is collective resentment. The historical conflicts between Turks and Armenians and between Israelis and Palestinians exemplify this aspect of *Han*. The relation between Japan and Korea also belongs to this kind of *Han*. Since Japan annexed Korea in 1910, the unconscious collective animosity of the Koreans towards the Japanese has become active and has dominated the Korean substructure of consciousness. As a consequence Koreans have subconsciously related to Japanese in terms of *Han*. Beyond human *Han* there is the *Han* of animals and nature. Animals and nature suffer from abusive treatment by humans, yet cannot protest

against it. The creation has suffered the pain in silence. In the past two decades, about one million species have vanished from the world's tropical forests. Trees, water, air, and soil have been destroyed. Human actions which contradict the will of nature and animals produce *Han*, and nature groans under the weight of this oppression. Bible has taught this idea of the *Han* of all the creation in Romans chapter 8 verses 19-23 (Park 1993:31-44).

10. In Christian revival meetings and prayer meetings at prayer mountain centers, there are many people who suffer from diseases, business failures, family or marriage problems, and everyday problems. In these meetings, pastors may understand about their *Han*. According to Andrew Park, Professor at United Methodist Seminary in Dayton, Christianity has been preoccupied with the well-being of sinners/oppressors and has devoted little attention to their victims' *Han* (Park 1993:69-85). In the history of Christian thought, the church has depicted the doctrines of repentance and reconciliation for the salvation of the oppressors, but not for the salvation of the oppressed. Throughout its history, the church has been concerned with the sin of the oppressor, but has largely overlooked the pain of the victims of sin that is *Han* of the oppressed. Frederick R. Tennant a liberal theologian defined sin as "moral imperfection," Karl Barth sees sin as rebellion against God's eternal grace, Paul Tillich regards sin as estrangement from God, political theologians like Dorothee Soelle, Jurgen Moltmann, stress the social dimension of sin, and Latin-American liberation theologians including Gustavo Gutierrez addresses the threefold nature of sin: economic and sociopolitical oppression, historical determinism, and spiritual sin. As this review of twentieth-century thinkers reveals, theologians have analyzed the problems of the world from the perspective of the doctrine of sin. For them, sins are moral imperfection, rebellion, pride, estrangement, slavery, collaboration, determinism, and oppression. But the notion of sin has been articulated from the perspective of sinners/the oppressors, not from the perspective of the oppressed. These traditional concepts of sin are of limited utility in addressing the problems of human evil and suffering. We need to reinterpret sin and salvation in light of the concept of *Han* in order to understand and respond of the problems of the world (Park 1993:69-85).

11. The class meeting was Wesley's greatest contribution to the field of discipling believers and is widely accepted in Korean churches. Although it was developed initially as a fund raising scheme in the Bristol Society, the class meeting was designed to be an intimate group of ten or twelve believers who

met weekly to advise, reprove, comfort, or exhort (Henderson 1997:93-112).

Chapter 7

Conclusion: Missiological Significance of the Study

In this dissertation I have tried to find a new missiological approach to solve the problem of "dual allegiance" of Korean syncretistic folk Christians.

First of all, by using the categories in phenomenology of religion as described by Friedrich Heiler, I found the reality of contemporary Korean Shamanism--that it is not a mere superstition but is a complete and living religious system. And also I found that it has a powerful hold on many groups of people including Buddhists, Christians, and even secularists who are "dual allegiance" in orientation. They just trust in the religious experiences of the shaman and the power of that person to achieve their stated needs, no matter what religions they hold. For this reason, Shamanism attracts folk Christians, and makes them syncretistic; they practice "dual allegiance" between Christianity and Shamanism.

After understanding the reality and strength of Shamanism as a continual challenge to Korean Christianity, I was able to identify and understand the phenomenon of "dual allegiance" of some Korean Christians in terms of the dual religious systems, described by Robert Schreiter. It was confirmed in my field research that syncretistic folk Christians visit shamans because of: a lack of faith in God, a belief in spirit beings, anxiety about the future, and reliance on the shaman's power.

Understanding the phenomenon of "dual allegiance," I traced some present solutions to it such as an elitist approach of teaching biblical instruction and transforming the shamanistic worldview. But these were not sufficient to prevent syncretistic folk Christians from visiting shamans. Further, by this investigation I recognized that syncretistic folk Christians need some practical, indigenous Christian patterns to follow which are familiar to them. I noted as well that while indigenous folk Christians do not go to shamans, they are using indigenous patterns that have been adapted from Shamanism. These patterns are from Korean religious culture and may be seen in such forms as: emphasizing and receiving of messages regarding "restoration" or "blessing," worshipping God through offering time and materials, belief in empowerment of pastors, participatory prayers at sacred time and place, and close relationship to pastors.

With the aids of Darrell Whiteman's and Don Richardson's analyses of culture and religion, and John Wesley's theology of grace, I saw how indigenous religious patterns make Korean Christianity become related to Korean culture and religion. I also proposed practical ways of strengthening them with the aid of insights from phenomenological studies on Korean Shamanism. It is possible that these patterns can be located and developed for strengthening Korean Christianity in Korean culture.

Therefore, I suggest in this dissertation that Korean Christian churches may and should use Korean Christian indigenous patterns to strengthen Korean Christianity and to solve the problem of "dual allegiance" of syncretistic folk Christians. This then will be an adequate response to the challenge of contemporary Korean Shamanism today.

A limitation of my dissertation is that its application is useful in solving problems of "dual allegiance" specifically in the case of Korean syncretistic folk Christians. However, the insights and methodology of my dissertation may be helpful when applied to the work of Christian mission in other nations. The method of phenomenology of religion which I used may guide national leaders to find the reality and the strength of the religions in their own countries and also to discover the problem of "dual allegiance" of their syncretistic folk Christians. The foundations of the Bible and Wesleyan theology can broaden their attitudes toward the local cultures and religions. Finally, they may find some positive or acceptable forms from their cultures able to be adopted and used to express their faith in Jesus Christ in their cultural ways.

Most of all, the concept of indigenous Christian patterns I developed for use in the dissertation may be applied from the Korean context to fit the needs of other peoples such as Thai Christians, Hindi Christians, or Vietnamese Christians. However, the concept of indigenous Christian patterns should be

contextualized in these countries according to their cultures and religions. I leave this task to other Christians in other cultures. The insights or ideas from this dissertation may be useful to transform the meanings of those patterns in order to strengthen their own indigenous Christianity.

Appendix 1
Interview Schedules

1.1 To shamans

General Demographic Question

1. Tell me about yourself. (gender, age, education, etc.)

Regarding the Reasons for Becoming Shamans

2. Tell me about your situations before and after becoming a shaman.
3. What kinds of deities or spirits do you serve?

Regarding the Reasons Why Folk Christians Go to Shamans

4. Tell me briefly regarding your visitors or your clients. How many clients regularly come to you?
5. How many are people of other religions, including Christians, and why do they come to you?
6. Why do you think many Korean folk Christians come back to shamans, even after they have become Christians?

- 1.2 To pastors or church leaders who have experience or knowledge about Contemporary Korean Shamanism

General Demographic Question

1. Tell me about yourself. (gender, age, denomination, status and involvement in the church)

Regarding the Reasons Why Folk Christians Go to Shamans

2. Tell me briefly regarding your experience of visiting shamans or participating in Kut rituals.
3. How many times and why did you go there? What was the need to go? Are you still planning to go there?
4. Why do you think many Korean folk Christians go back to shamans, even after they have become Christians?

About Their View of the Indigenous Religious Patterns of Korean Christianity

5. There are indigenous patterns of Korean Christianity such as prayer and hearing messages in prayer mountains centers or revival meetings for unsolved problems such as barrenness, sickness, failure in business, and entering college. Are these existing patterns sufficient to deal with the problems? If not, why?
6. Are these shamanistic? If so, should these be deleted from church practices?
7. Do you expect a pastor to have spiritual power to prevent his people from evil?
8. How do you advise people who fail to solve their daily problems in the church and want to go back to shamans?

Specific Questions only to Pastors

9. How did you become a pastor? Did you receive God's calling to be a pastor? If so, before getting God's calling, did you have any crisis or struggles in your lives or in the life of your family?
10. If your church members go to shamans, how do you respond to them? What is a Christian solution for them?

- 1.3 To syncretistic folk Christians who have experience or knowledge about contemporary Korean Shamanism

General Demographic Question

1. Tell me about yourself. (gender, age, denomination, status and involvement in the church)

Regarding the Reasons Why Folk Christians Go to Shamans

2. Tell me briefly regarding your experience of visiting shamans or participating in *Kut* rituals.
3. How many times and why did you go there? What was the need to go? Are you still planning to go there?
4. Why do you think many Korean folk Christians go back to shamans, even after they have become Christians?

About Their View of the Indigenous Religious Patterns of Korean Christianity

5. There are indigenous patterns of Korean Christianity such as prayer and hearing messages in prayer mountain centers and in revival meetings for unsolved problems such as barrenness, sickness, failure in business, and entering college. Are these existing patterns sufficient to deal with the problems? If not, why?
6. Are these shamanistic? If so, should they be deleted from church practices?
7. Do you expect a pastor to have spiritual power to prevent his people from evil?
8. How do you advise people who fail to solve their daily problems in the churches and want to go back to shamans?

Appendix 2

Theoretical Framework to Interpret the Data

Stage I: Understanding of Contemporary Korean Shamanism: An Approach of the Phenomenology of Religion

Examine the religious phenomena of contemporary Korean Shamanism by using the categories in phenomenology of religion as described by Friedrich Heiler without any prejudices or judgment. Heiler sets out three major categories as follows:

First, the world of religious phenomena such as sacred objects, sacred space, sacred time, sacred number, sacred action, sacred word, sacred writings, sacred person, and sacred community;

Second, the world of religious concepts including ideas about deity, creation, revelation, salvation, and eternal life;

Third, the world of religious experience both in its normal forms like awe, fear, peace, and supranormal forms like visions and ecstasy (Heiler 1961:v-xiii).

Through the phenomenological approach, the writer may understand the reality and strength of contemporary Korean Shamanism. The writer may identify the influences that attract many folk Christians to the practices of Shamanism and may understand the challenge of recognizing "dual allegiance."

Stage II: Understanding of Dual Allegiance of the Korean Folk Christians

After understanding the distinctive beliefs and practices of contemporary Korean Shamanism that continually challenge Korean Christians, I will identify and understand the phenomenon of dual allegiance of Korean folk Christians in terms of a dual religious system, described by Robert Schreier (1985:148-149).

Stage III: Evaluating and Strengthening Korean
Christian Indigenous Patterns: A
Missiological Approach

Evaluating Korean Christian Indigenous Patterns

I will evaluate the indigenous religious patterns of the Christian churches in Korea by using the Wesleyan Theology of Grace and Darrell Whiteman's concept of conversion and indiginization (Wesley 1872d:185-201; Whiteman 1983:371,412).

Strengthening Korean Christian Indigenous Patterns

I will strengthen the indigenous religious patterns of the Christian churches in Korea by using the insights gained from the approach of phenomenology of religion to contemporary Korean Shamanism and the Wesleyan Theology of Prevenient Grace and Don Richardson's analysis of religious contents (Wesley 1872a:509; 1872b:345; Richardson 1981:32-33).

Conclusion

It is important that Korean churches do not have to judge contemporary Korean Shamanism as a simple human-made superstition, magic, or servitude to the Devil. They have to understand that it is its power and reality that is attractive to folk Christians. Also they do not have to ignore Korean Christian indigenous patterns; that these should not be criticized prematurely as being syncretistic. Rather, they should encourage folk Christians to practice Korean Christian indigenous patterns in order to respond to the challenge of contemporary Korean Shamanism.

Appendix 3
Contemporary Korean Shamans and the Visitors

3.1. Interviews with shamans (12 shamans and 25 shamanesses)

No.	Shaman's Name	Most Common Clientele Who Visit	Most Common Reason Expressed for Visit
1.	Pyung-won	women in 40s, young couples, and some Christians	for family and financial problems and good marriage
2.	Sang Lok Soo	wide range of people including Christians	wide range of problems
3.	Heuk Jin Joo	men in their 20s, 30s, and 40s	depressed
4.	Yoon-Ja Jeon	young or middle-aged men and women, middle or low class people	fortune, luck, fate, business failure, and marital harmony
5.	Ra Il Rak	wide range of people	entering college
6.	Jeong Tong	mainly women having children including Christian women	fate & future of their children & husbands
7.	Cheong San	wide range of classes	wide range of problems
8.	Chundo Wha	mainly young women, a few Christians	marital harmony
9.	Baik Il Hong	men & women, many Christians	curiosity about future
10.	Min Dul Ley	various people	various problems
11.	Yongjae Lee	women in their 40s	family problems
12.	Jungsoon Kim	women in their 40s, including Buddhists and Christians	health, marriage of their children
13.	Keumyee Jung	women, including Christians	husbands who have love affairs
14.	Junyoung Lee	80% of clients are women in middle age including Christians	problems of health and husbands
15.	Sunhee Ahn	young women in their 20s	marriage & struggles with boy friends
16.	Kilsoo Kim	some Buddhists and Christians	health & finance
17.	Sunyeo Bosal	wide range of people	wide range of problems
18.	Yeongam Bosal	middle-aged women	family, business, fate, marriage, and naming
19.	Mija Sohn	women from their teens to 60s including high school girl; and men such as policemen, public service personnel, and a Christian elder	problems of parents, children, business, marriage, health, etc.
20.	Chu Bosal	wide range of people including Christians	family problems
21.	Daesin Bosal	middle-aged women, including	disobedience of their

		Buddhists and Christians	children
22.	Oh Buhl Sa	women and young people	family problems
23.	Chunsin Dosa	10 % are men, 90% are women in their 20s, 30s, and 40s; Christian pastors and Roman Catholic priests	marriage, business, moving, children, husbands
24.	Tae Bak Dosa	middle-aged women	family and business
25.	Cheonji San Dosa	young people	marriage and future
26.	Yaksoo Bosal	middle-aged women, including Christians	family, business, and illness
27.	Dongung	women, a pastor who asked the right place for a new church	family, marriage, future, naming or locating
28.	Sam Bul Sal	men and women, including Christians	family and business
29.	Giza Yang	middle-aged women	family problems
30.	Lee Bosal	middle-aged women	depressed
31.	Wooyong Kim	women and high class people	political election
32.	Hyunmi Sin	young women, middle-aged women, business men, Christians	marital harmony, business, and future
33.	Jungsang Suh	middle-aged women	wide range of problems
34.	Keumok Hong	middle-aged men and women	business, future, college exam, illness
35.	Chunsin Jeza	middle-aged women, including Christians	family problems, entering college
36.	Joonho Lee	young people and middle-aged women	family problems
37.	Dongja Bosal	middle-aged women including Christians	entering college and future of business

(Interviews in and around Seoul from May 22nd to 24th, from June 2nd to 9th, and from November 11th to 18th; cf. Noh 1997a:92-103; 104-109; 1997b:11-26)

3.2 Accounts of contemporary Korean shamans

Among 37 shamans, I will describe five cases of shamans who are former Christians and six cases of shamans among those who having *Synbyung* (divine illness). It will help understand the influences that attract syncretistic folk Christians to the practices of Shamanism (cf. Appendix 2 "Stage I")

3.2.1. Accounts of contemporary Korean shamans who are former Christians

Case 1: Joonho Lee

Joonho Lee was born to a line of shamans from generations. He is single, 40 years old, and an high school graduate. He lives in Bupyong Dong in Inchun City near Seoul.

Call: His mother was shamaness by divine choosing in his childhood, but she was converted to Christianity and now she is an active member in the church. His brothers attend the church. After graduating from high school, he was very sick and had *Sinbyung* (divine sickness). It was very difficult for him to attend the church. But after receiving the calling of spirits through the initiation *Kut*, he became a shaman and was healed.

Work: He consults middle-aged housewives and college students who have family problems. He has about 30 clients who regularly visit him. He lights their candles on his altar and prays for their security and success. He conducts *Kut* ritual once a year when people invite him to do it for their family. He likes to go to mountains for prayer.

Beliefs: He believes in *Halabesi* (the mountain god) whom he serves. He has a big altar on which there are eight candles, candies, tobaccos, and eight children dolls in its center. Twelve pictures of various deities are on the wall behind the altar.

(Interview: Bupyong Dong in Inchun City, 15 November 1997)

Case 2: Lee Bosal

Lee Bosal is married, 60 years old. She has a son and a daughter and a 14-year old grandson. She live in Anyang Dong in Anyang City.

Call: She worked for 30 years as a hairdresser. She was very sick and she went to the church. But she was not healed. After visiting a shaman, she knew her destiny was to become a shamaness after having *Sinbyung* (divine illness).

Work: Her clients are middle-aged women, including a lot of people from other religions such as Christians who have struggles with their husbands' business, and family problems such as illness and children's marriage. She told Christians that they do not need to go to the church.

Beliefs: She believes mainly in the Buddhist spirit. On her altar, there are typical incense burner, candles, bells, and food offering to three big Buddha statues.

(Interview: Anyang Dong in Anyang City, 18 November 1997)

Case 3: Yaksoo Bosal

Yong Moon Choi, so called *Yaksoo Bosal* (Bodhisattva of Healing Water), is married, 76 years old, and an elementary school graduate. She lives in Anyang City.

Call: She attended the church where an American missionary evangelized her in her childhood. She was a Christian until her son was sick. But when her son was sick and almost blind, she decided to become a shamaness in order for her son not to be blind.

Work: Her clients are middle-aged women and include some Christians who have struggles with their husbands and family problems. She has five clients who regularly visit her in a year. She had the experience of healing someone who had cancer.

Beliefs: She says she serves mainly an old man deity and an old woman deity, and ancestor spirits. The altar has typical three-story tables. At the lowest table, there are a bowl of rice and bills of money. On the second table, there are incense and candles. On the third table, there are five statues of deities.

(Interview: In Anyang City, 4 June 1997)

Case 4: Tae Bak Dosa

Tae Bak Dosa (disciple of great mountain), is married, 47 years old, and an elementary school graduate. He lives in Jungang Market in Anyang City.

Call: For ten years he attended a Full Gospel Church. When he had *Sinbyung* (divine illness), he visited a shaman who suggested that he become a shaman.

Work: His clients are middle-aged women who have struggles with their husbands and family problems. He has the ability to predict the future. He has eight clients who regularly visit him in a month. He takes care of them regarding their family affairs. He makes a *Kut* ritual once a month on the first day of every month.

Beliefs: He believes in ancestor spirits, child spirits, and old man spirit. He thinks the Christian God forsook him. On his two story altar, he offers to deities toys, candies, and a bottle of wine at the first table. The second table has candle lights and many dishes of fruits.

(Interview: Jungang Market in Anyang City, 14 November 1997)

Case 5: Heuk Jin Joo

Heuk Jin Joo is 54 years old and high school graduate. She live in Miary in Seoul.

Call: She was born to a Christian family. She used to be a Christian at a Holiness church. But when she was blinded, she became a shamaness.

Work: She makes divination on behalf of men in their 30s and 40s who have struggles with their businesses. Christians also visit her for consultation concerning their futures. She does not make a *Kut* ritual.

Beliefs: She believes in all deities, including the Christian God. But she does not have any altar. She believes in her mind. She thinks some Christian pastors have spiritual power to heal the sick. But most of them do not have the power. Thus, Christians who have problems go to shamans like her.

(Interview: Miary in Seoul, 22 May 1997)

3.2.2. Accounts of contemporary Korean shamans who have experienced *Sinbyung* (divine sickness)

Case 1: Yongjae Lee

Yongjae Lee, so called "*Han Bosal*" (the great Bodhisattva), was born to a line of shamans from generations. He is single, late 30 years old, and an high school graduate. He lives in Shiheung Dong in Seoul.

Call: As his mother was shamaness by divine choosing, he also was forced to be a shaman after having *Sinbyung* (divine sickness). He did not have any initiation process or any education from teacher shamans.

Work: He consults middle-aged housewives, including some Christians who have family problems of illness and finance or wish that their children enter college. He has about ten clients who regularly visit him. He lights their candles on his altar and prays for their security and success. He conducts *Kut* ritual only when the nation meets crisis and disaster.

Beliefs: He believes in *Hanulsin* (heaven deity), his divine spirit whom he serves. He has a big altar on which there are two candles, three bowls of water, a dish of fruits, and a big Buddha statue in its center. Under a big altar, there is a small table on which there are a Buddhist Sutra and a wood block. A picture of the dragon deity is on the wall behind the altar.

(Interview: Shiheung Dong in Seoul, 2 June 1997)

Case 2: Jungsoon Kim

Jungsoon Kim, so called *Youngeun Bosal* (spirit Bodhisattva), is married, 45 years old. She lives in Bongchon Dong in Seoul.

Call: She became a shamaness after having *Sinbyung* (divine illness). Since her childhood, she was very weak and had a voice of murmuring. She did not sleep very well and suffered not sleeping for four months. Having consulted with a shaman, she became a shaman.

Work: Her clients are middle-aged women, including many Christians who have struggles with their husbands' business and family problems such as illness and children's marriage. She has seven to ten clients who regularly visit her once in two months. She specially takes care of two clients regarding their family affairs. She makes *Kut* rituals by request of her clients.

Beliefs: She believes mainly in her ancestor grandfather spirit beside spirits of the sun, the moon, and stars, baby deities, and dragon god. On her altar, which is in the second floor of her house, there are typical items: incense burner, candles, fans, weapons, bells, and food offering to deities.

(Interview: Bongchon Dong in Seoul, 3 June 1997)

Case 3: Keumyee Jung

Keumjee Jung, so called *Daekwanryung Sinryengnim Jeza* (disciple of the spirit of Daekwanryung hill), is married, 55 years old, and an elementary school graduate. She lives in Norangjin Dong in Seoul.

Call: She became a shamaness after having *Sinbyung* (divine illness), in her case a mental illness. She says she became a shamaness according to her destiny.

Work: Her clients are middle-aged women, including many Christians who have struggles with their husbands and family problems. She has 200 to 300 clients who regularly visit her in a year. She writes down her special clients' names on special notes or papers and prays for them. She makes *Kut* rituals anytime whenever her clients request.

Beliefs: She says she serves mainly an old man deity and also *Chilsung* (7 stars deity), *Yongyang* (dragon king deity), Buddha, *Samsin* (deity for child birth), ancestor spirits, military general, and Merciful Buddha. The altar has typical three-story tables. At the lowest table, there are small statues of deities she serves. She offers to deities incense and lights, cigarettes and alcoholic drinks, a bowl of rice and bills of money. On the second table, there is her mainly-served deity figure, the mountain god. On the third table, there are pictures of several deities. Under the altar, there is a small table on which are several kinds of shamanic instruments such as a drum, a gong, rice, and a small hand bells.

(Interview: Norangjin Dong in Seoul, 4 June 1997)

Case 4: Junyoung Lee

Junyoung Lee, so called *Jakdu Dosa* (disciple of straw cutter), is single, 32 years old, and a junior high school graduate. He lives in Haengchon Dong in Seoul.

Call: He became a shaman after having *Sinbyung* (divine illness). Since his childhood, he was very weak and had a symptom of throwing up. Doctors did not find any disease in him, but his weight became lighter and lighter. When he went to a shaman it was suggested that he become a shaman. During *Narim Kut* (initiation ritual), he could recite a kind of tongue.

Work: 80 percent of his clients are middle-aged women including a lot of Christians who have struggles with their husbands and family problems. He had ability to predict the future. He has 20 to 30 clients who regularly visit him in a month. He takes care of them regarding their family affairs. He makes *Kut* rituals five to six times a month by request of his clients. He also makes a big *Kut* ritual on the first day of every New Year. He lights candles on his altar and prays for his clients until the candles burn out.

Beliefs: He says he serves mainly 100 king deities and military general deities of the Lee Dynasty, including the first king Sungkye Lee and the fourth king Seejong, and a granddaughter of the king Seejong. On his altar, there is a big statue of king Sungkye Lee over 100 small plaster figures.

(Interview: Haengchon Dong in Seoul, 5 June 1997)

Case 5: Sunhee Ahn

Sunhee Ahn, so called *Chunsang Chunneo Bosal* (heavenly angel Bodhisattva), was born to a line of shamans from generations. She is divorced, 46 years old, and an elementary school graduate. She lives with a son and a daughter in Hongjeong Dong in Seoul.

Call: Three years ago, her mother who was a shamaness died. One month before the death of her mother, she felt a deity or a spirit coming into and out of her body. It was like an electric shock. Her mother and she herself did not want to be a shamaness, but she experienced strange visions in her dreams. She went to a cave for prayer a Sinheung Buddhist Temple managed in Kyeorong mountain. After seven days of prayer, she felt a big fire was filling her body. After that experience, she gave divination to people according to her visions that appeared during the conversation with people. Finally, with her friends' and acquaintances' recommendation, she became a shamaness through *Naerim Kut* (initiation ritual) 10 August 1995. After that, she was educated regarding shaman's work and life by *Sinsunsaeng* (teacher shaman) twice a month for four months.

Work: She makes divination on behalf of young-aged women, including some Christians who have struggles with their

boyfriends and marriage problems. During divination, she receives messages from a female old woman deity through visions or voices. Since she is a quite young shamaness, she has a few clients who regularly visit her. She does not yet make a *Kut* ritual. She lights candles on her altar and prays for herself and her children.

Beliefs: She says she serves a big fire called *Keunsin* (a great deity) and an old man and an old woman, deities who are familiar spirits. The altar has three story tables. At the lowest table, she offers to deities incense. The second table has candle lights, many dishes of fruits, and alcoholic drinks. On the third table, there is a small plaster figure of an old man deity carrying a big tiger. Behind the altar, several kinds of drawn pictures of spirits are hung on the wall.

(Interview: Hongjeong Dong in Seoul, 6 June 1997)

Case 6: Wooyong Kim

Wooyong Kim, so called *Sansin Dosa* (disciple of the mountain spirit), is single, 32 years old, and a college dropout. He lives in Poildong in Euyang City near Seoul.

Call: His father is a herb doctor and his family had no connection to Korean Shamanism. When he entered college, he became very sick without any cause. His heart was beating extraordinarily. Even though his father was an herb doctor, he did not cure his son, but took him to a shaman. The shaman told him his son had *Sinbyung* (divine illness) and the best way of healing his son was to let him receive deity. They went to Osu mountain in Chungnam province in order to get *Narim Kut* (initiation ritual) in which the son could get rest and peace after eight hours of dancing and shaking small hand bells.

Work: When he wants to make divination, his mouth opens and he gives oracles to his clients without use of his will. He says he cured a woman who had mental illness with saying an oracle. During the *Kut* ritual for healing her, he told her if someone put three branches of a peach tree on three parts of her body such as her head, her stomach, and her legs, she could be cured from the disease. A man followed his oracle and she was cured. After that event, he became a popular shaman.

His clients are middle-aged women including many Christians who have family and financial problems, or have children who take the college entrance exam in November. He has 500 to 600 clients who regularly visit him in a year. He has 80 names of his clients for whom he prays on the first day, the fifteenth day,

and thirtieth day of every month. He makes *Kut* rituals by request of his clients.

Beliefs: He says he serves mainly *Halabeozi* (his grandfather deity) and also *Mansin* (10,000 deities) such as mountain god, Taoist deities, and Buddha. He believes he is superior to Christian pastors because he receives messages spoken directly from deities. He has a picture of Dankun (the first king of Korea), a stone image of Buddha, two children gods, and a big statue of an ancestor god on the upper level of his altar. There are three bowls of rice, three candles, and three cigarette cases, and two big knives and a shaman's wand stuck in a big rice bowl on the lower part of the altar. Behind the altar, there is a picture of many images of Buddha hanging on the wall and there are about 70 lotus lamps hanging down from the ceiling.

(Interview: Euyang City near Seoul, 12 November 1997)

3.3 Interviews with pastors and church leaders

On April 21st and 22nd in 1997, there was a conference meeting in Hoejeong Church of Euijungbo City near Seoul of pastors or leaders who wanted to make Christian converts of shamans. At 2:00 p.m. on April 22nd about 200 pastors and leaders participated in the conference "Musok Junmoon Moim" (the Conference for Special Evangelistic Concerns for Shamans).

They belonged to different denominations such as Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist churches. But they were all interested in evangelizing contemporary Korean shamans. Before and after the conference, I interviewed 12 pastors and one journalist.

Following the interview questions in Appendix 1.2, they answered me as follows:

Q's	Q.1 Gender, age, denomination status in the churches	Q's.2,3 Reasons for experiencing Shamanism	Q.4 Belief that folk Christians visit shamans	Q.5,6 Regarding Christians' indigenous patterns
A's	<div>6 Presbyterians</div> <div>3 Methodists</div> <div>2 Holiness</div> <div>2 Full Gospel</div> <hr/> <div>1 in her 20s</div> <div>4 in their 30s</div> <div>5 in their 40s</div> <div>1 in their 50s</div> <div>2 in their 60s</div> <hr/> <div>2 female</div> <div>11 male</div> <hr/> <div>1 journalist</div> <div>12 pastors</div>	<div>5 childhood, with his parents</div> <div>1 illness as a baby</div> <div>3 curiosity in youth</div> <div>1 interview</div> <div>3 to evangelize</div>	<div>5 happens because of ignorance of power of the gospel</div> <div>3 do not accept</div> <div>2 heard about it, no direct experience</div> <div>1 to prevent them from visiting shamans</div> <div>2 to understand their life situations</div>	<div>13 not sufficient because revivalist over-emphasize offerings & material blessings, not the gospel itself</div> <hr/> <div>9 shaman-istic</div> <div>4 indigenous</div>

Q.	Q.7 Pastors's Power	Q. 8 Suggestions to prevent going to shamans	Q.9 Calling of Pastors	Q.10 Christian solutions for believers
A.	1 10 no power not power of pastors but of Christ 2 powerful by discipline of prayer	8 proclaim & experience the power of gospel itself 2 warning 2 counseling 1 purging shamans	6 parents' devotion 2 illness 2 at revival meetings 2 thinking about life and death 1 a journalist	6 keep praying 5 rely on God's power 2 rely on the blood of Jesus Christ

(Interviews in Hoejeong Church of Euijungboo City near Seoul from April 21st to 22nd in 1997; cf. Noh 1997a:6-27)

3.4 Interviews with syncretistic folk Christians

I interviewed by phone 36 folk Christians selected through random calling by using the Seoul Phone Address Book, Vol. 2: Kangsuh-Ku, Yangcheon-Ku, Yeongdeungpo-Ku in Seoul. I called every first name that is on each page of the phone book from April 28th to May 1st and from November 4th to 7th. 36 interviewees replied to the interview questions in Appendix 13. Following the interview questions, they answered me as follows:

No	Inter-viewees	Q.1 Clientele	Q's.2,3,4 Reasons for Visit	Q's.5,6 Christian Indigenous Patterns	Q.7 Power of Pastors	Q.8 Suggestions
1	Dae H. Gah	himself male 40s	life struggles	sufficient	powerful	knows faith in God is important
2	Gan S. Kim	neighbor middle-aged women	family problems	sufficient	powerful	strong faith in God
3	Su N. Noh	her friend female 30s	depressed, financial problems	sufficient but more love needed	only a few of pastors	No suggestions, Let them go there.
4	Sung W. Park	herself 30s	Kut for family security in her house	sufficient	powerful	If God gave no answers, keep praying.
5	Yonghee Park	among new believers women 40s	family and business problems	sufficient	according to God's gifts	Just tell them not to go there.
6	Dae H. Um	among the uneducated male 30s	family problems	not sufficient but helpful	only a few pastors	It is superstition.
7	Yung I. Yoo	himself late 20s	depressed	sufficient	a few pastors	counseling with pastors
8	Young S. Lee	herself woman 40s	no faith in God	sufficient	powerful	strong faith in God
9	Jin B. Lee	his friend 20s	business problem	did not know	did not know	does not know
10	Sang K. Chung	himself 20s	to evangelize	sufficient	powerful	pray to God
11	Ok J. Chung	herself late 30s	to solve problems	sufficient	a few pastors	Go to powerful pastors.

12	Kong W. Jey	neighbors woman 40s	children problems	need more biblical ways	powerful	Learn the Bible.
13	Nam P. Cho	his mother late 50s	family problems	sufficient	powerful	Allow it. Pastor is pastor, and shaman is shaman.
14	Yun H. Cho	herself 40s	children's illness & husband's failure	sufficient	powerful	Shamans may solve the problems but keep believing in God also.
15	Min Y. Hah	herself 33	want to know her future	sufficient	powerful	God is alive, but I want to know my fate.
16	Kang Y. Hwang	among new believers	depressed	sufficient	powerful	Have strong faith in God.
17	Yun C. Kwak	her daughter	marriage	sufficient	powerful	does not know
18	Tae K. Kweon	herself 30s	anxious about future	sufficient	does not know	Church is not concerned about fate.
19	Dong W. Kim	neighbors male 50s	family problems	sufficient	powerful	strong faith in God
20	Woo S. Park	her friend female 30s	depressed & anxious	sufficient	only a few of pastors	If it works, let them go there.
21	Jong S. Paik	neighbors woman 30s	no faith in God	sufficient	powerful	strong faith in God
22	Yung Y. Kim	neighbors woman 40s	depressed	sufficient	powerful	prayer with them
23	Jang H. Kim	neighbors woman 30s	depressed	sufficient	powerful	Let churches help them.
24	Si K. Shim	his son late 50s	marriage	did not know	did not know	It is not a bad thing.
25	Yang K. Lee	neighbors man, 20s	no faith in God	sufficient	powerful	pastoral care visiting home
26	Han J. Cho	neighbors man, 60s	little faith	sufficient	powerful	strong faith in God
27	Jung A. Hong	neighbors woman 40s	family problems	sufficient	powerful	Keep praying.

28	Kyung O. Bae	his friends 20s	fun & curiosity	sufficient	powerful	did not know
29	Kyung S. Kim	herself 20s	fun	did not know	did not know	did not know
30	Yang G. Kim	her neighbors 30s	depressed from many problems	sufficient	powerful	Let them go there.
31	Chil S. Kim	his friend 20s	marriage	not sufficient	a few pastors	strong faith in God
32	Ja H. Sung	neighbors woman 50s	little faith	did not know	powerful	strong faith in God
33	Deuk C. Yoo	herself 30s	marriage	sufficient	powerful	God knows it.
34	Hyun S. Lee	herself 40s	reliance on power of shamans	sufficient	powerful	faith in God
35	Yeon K. Lee	himself man, 50s	anxious	sufficient	powerful	Both faith and divination are O.K.
36	Sun B. Lee	herself woman, 30s	daily problems caused by spirit beings	sufficient	powerful	need Christian substitutes

(Phone Interviews from April 28th to May 1st, from November 4th to 7th; Noh 1997a:28-47; 1997b:5-10)

Appendix 4

Accounts of Religious Rituals

4.1 Account of a Public *Kut* Ritual, *Tongil Giwon Daeje* (The Great *Kut* Ritual for Reunification of Korea)

Background: The *Kut* ritual is a regular worship service of Contemporary Korean Shamanism that the Association of Korean Shamans holds once or twice a year. This year it was held at Namsan Field Square in central Seoul from 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. on April 19th. The purpose was to offer prayers and dancing and make requests to the spirits who are invited to this ritual.

Preparation: Before the actual ceremony, various foods and fruits such as the white rice-cakes, sweet cookies, apples, watermelons and bananas were placed on the big table. Beside the table, there were small tables on which strong wine in a big container and a whole pig and a big head of a cow were placed. Besides these food offerings on the tables, there were side-offerings such as money, incense, and various colors of fabrics. A tree was put in the middle of the ground that was tied up to the main building and a pillar with red, white, blue and yellow bands of cotton cloth. About 200 observers were gathered together and sat or stood in order to see and participate in the ritual. All shamans used microphones during the ritual.

Actual Process: Six musical shamanesses took roles of assistants to make music with *Chaekum* (a brass instrument) and *Ching* (small gong), and drums during the ritual. The music that they made was simple beating sounds driving away the evil and dangerous powers or spirits. These noises or sounds of such instruments are believed to be like sounds of thunderstorm or gods which can expel evil spirits.

A shamaness came toward the altar wearing a long robe, a colorful traditional dress, and danced with a fan in order to remove evil and harmful spirits from the altar area. She said Korea had to drive away the evil spirits, and she spread water around the altar area for cleansing the altar. This stage was called *Pujeong Puli* (cleansing uncleanness).

And then, the chief shaman came toward the altar and made a offering of incense and a cup of strong wine kneeling and bowing. He made a speech for 30 minutes regarding his view on religious culture in Korea and shamans' responsibilities of making the nation and people be purified from evil spirits. He emphasized that all 200,000 shamans of Korea should come together to elect the new president of Korea who is a anti-Communist and would support the religious diversity and democratic values.

After that, a shaman recited a prayer letter to *Sungwhansin* (the holy emperor deity). It was concerning the prayer and wish for protection from foreign economic invasions, for keeping the national identity, and for the world peace.

And then, a shamaness appeared wearing a red long clothes with a hand fan and small bells. While she was pleasing the *Sansang* (the mountain spirit) with dancing and shouting prayers, some observers or shamanic believers came to the altar and knelt and bowed with offering incense or money.

Following the *Sansang gori* (the stage for the mountain spirit), the *Bulsa gori* (the stage for the heavenly Buddha) started. A shamaness put on a white Buddhist hat and a long white Buddhist robe. After her dancing and singing for Buddha, she walked to the people and made conversations one by one to offer the oracles to them individually who wanted to get messages from spirits. Shamanic believers were dancing with the shamaness. It took 40-50 minutes' time.

After finishing the *Bulsa gori*, *Sinjang gori* (the stage for the military spirit) started. In this stage, a shaman was singing and dancing with five military flags. He came to the people and chose each person and let them pick one among five flags. Each person who was chosen offered money and got a divine message from the shaman. After that, a chief shaman came to the altar with a big sword which would be put into the slain big pig. He put the killed pig on his shoulder and was dancing. And then, he put the pig on a big military sword and some people came to the altar and put their money into the pig's ear and mouth.

After that, the *Daegam gori* (the stage of the great overseer) started. A shamaness wore a blue dress and black hat with red and yellow tassels. After her singing and dancing for the spirit of *Daegam*, she made oracles to people individually giving each one a cup of strong wine. The people who got the cup offered money to the assistant shamaness.

The final stage was the *Duichon gori* (the stage of closing ceremony). A shamaness was singing and dancing for the insignificant spirits who had not been honored and the people came to the altar and received some foods and fruits which were on the table.

(Participant Observation: Namsan Mountain
in Seoul, 19 April 1997)

4.2 Account of a Private Kut Ritual, the Chaesu Kut (The Private Kut Ritual for Welfare and Prosperity of Individual or Family)

Background: The private Kut ritual has been conducted by *Mudang* in the clients' houses whenever they request it. But, presently, it is done in the special sacred places, called *Kut Dang* (the sacred place for the private Kut), because neighbors sometimes complain about the noises or loud traditional music during the Kut ritual. In order to have a private Kut ritual for welfare and prosperity of individuals or family, clients should make a reservation with the owners of the *Kut Dang*.

Preparation: Around Seoul, there are many *Kut Dang*. I visited a *Kut Dang*, named Cheonsindang located in Samgak Mountain in Seoul on May 15th. They have five special rooms for private Kut rituals. Around 1:30 p.m. a woman in her 30s who requested a Kut, arrived by a car having foods, rice cake, and fruits like apples. The room no. 5 was assigned to her by the owner of a *Kut Dang*. She entered the room and placed the prepared foods and fruits on the altar. A male shaman in his 50s who would conduct the private Kut for his client arrived with his assistants.

In front of the room, a big table was prepared and a big killed pig was on it. In the past, clients gave money (*Kutdon*) to their shamans to prepare and to arrange the Kut. But today they give money for preparation to the owner of *Kut Dang*.

Actual Process: Around 2:00 p.m. a musical shamaness, called *Kitae* (actually a musical assistant of the main shaman), sat and began to make music with a traditional drum, named *Changu*, in order to invite to worship the *Pujeong* (cleaning) spirit (a spirit that could clean the altar).

Then, the client stood up and began to bow and to pray with her hands pressed together and rubbing palms of the hands. She was begging the security and health of her family.

The main shaman with traditional clothes and hat began to dance slowly with hand fans and small bells to appease good spirits such as *Kamang* (the gods of dead ancestors). After 15 or 20 minutes dancing, he began to speak to the client. He made *Kongsoo* (oracles) to his clients regarding her family's health and well being.

Then, the shaman took five military flags and dancing 10 or 15 minutes. After that, he pointed his client with flags. She chose one of them. She picked up the white one, then the shaman made divination for her good health.

At last, the shaman carried the big pig on his back and danced. The music became faster and faster. The shaman was turning round and round and stopped. He gave final oracles to his client that her family would have good fortune and bad things would not happen because bad fortunes would be killed, like the dead pig.

(Participant Observation: a private *Kut* at Cheonsindang in Samgak Mountain in Seoul on 15 May 1997)

4.3 Account of Christian Rituals

The researcher attended three revival meetings and three prayer meetings in order to observe Korean Christian indigenous patterns that demonstrate some connection in form with contemporary Korean Shamanism.

Prayer meetings (*Kidowon Kidohoi*) Attended:

Taewhasan Prayer Mountain Center	2 May 1997
Osanri Prayer Mountain Center	6 May 1997
Haneolsan Prayer Mountain Center	19 May 1997

Revival meetings (*Puheunghoi*) Attended:

Keumran Methodist Church	4-8 May 1997
Juan Presbyterian Church	27-31 May 1997
Yoido Full Gospel Church	13-15 August 1997

4.3.1 Prayer meeting (*Kidowon Kidohoi*) at Taewhasan Prayer Mountain Center

Background: Taewhasan Prayer Mountain Center is located in 72 Daedae-Ri, Yangi-Myun, Yongin City near Seoul. Every Friday night from 10:00 to 12:00, "Friday Night Prayer Meeting" is held by the pastors and members of small churches around and in Suwon City, Anyang City, and Yongin City which are the satellite cities of Seoul.

Preparation: 20 minutes before starting the prayer meeting, a pastor came up to the pulpit, prayed shortly and led in singing hymns.¹ Around thirty or forty people began to sing loudly three or four hymns sequentially with clapping hands and shaking bodies. After singing, the pastor asked people to lift up their hands and pray together loudly in preparation to receive God's words.

The Order of the Prayer Meeting and Actual Process:

Call to Worship

Hymns

Reading of Scripture: Romans 8:1-2

Sermon: Pastor Kyung R. Kim, Senior Pastor of World Light Church, was the main speaker at the prayer meeting of Taewhasan Prayer Mountain Center from 10:00 p.m. to 12:00 p.m. on 2 May. His message was regarding the importance of prayer to God.

He demonstrated that Christians could get answer from God only through sincere prayer, constant prayer, and practical prayer in their daily lives.

Offering
Closing Hymn
Benediction

1. Most people who participated in the revival and prayer meetings were singing hymns and gospel songs, which were translated or composed by Koreans, with clapping their hands or waving their hands in faster and more flexible mode than those during the ordinary worship service. The following hymns and gospel songs are popular in these meetings:

Hymns 189 "I Can Sing Now the Song"
190 "There is a Fountain Filled With Blood"
193 "Have You Been to Jesus"
194 "Glory to Jesus Who Died"
202 "Would You be Free From Your Burden of Sin"
206 "The Abundant Love of Jesus"
326 "Come. Every Soul by Sin Oppressed"
338 "Father, I Stretch My Hands to Thee"
340 "'Tis so Sweet to Trust in Jesus"
343 "Weeping Will Not Save Me"
344 "Down in the Valley Where the Mists of Doubt Arise"
427 "I'm Rejoicing Night and Day"
484 "Are You Weary"
498 "Once it was the Blessing"

Gospel Songs: "In the Name of Jesus," "Blessed Be the Name,"
"Jesus Breaks Every Fetter!" "Ere You Left Your Room"
"No Tears in Heaven," "In These Dark Days"
"There is Victory for Me," "This Home is Not my Home"
"He says You Can Do" (composed by a Korean)
"The Holy Spirit Be Upon Me" (composed by a Korean)
"Stand Up! and Walk!" (composed by a Korean)
"I Don't Know about Tomorrow" (written by a Korean)
"True, True, True, the Blood of Jesus" (composed by a Korean)

4.3.2 Prayer meeting (*Kidowon Kidohoi*) at Osanri Prayer Mountain Center

Background: Osanri Prayer Mountain Center is managed by Yoido Full Gospel Church. It is located in 187-5 Osan-Ri, Jori-Myun, Pajoo-Kun near Seoul. This prayer mountain center provides believers who visit there with prayer meetings every dawn, morning, afternoon, and night. I participated in "the Great Prayer Meeting for Receiving Holy Spirit" from 10:30 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. on May 6th, 1997.

Preparation: Even 30 minutes before starting the prayer meeting, already around a hundred people gathered together and began to sing loudly ten or eleven hymns, doing so sequentially with clapping hands and shaking bodies. Near to the time of opening the worship, the people lifted up their hands and prayed together loudly after shouting "Lord! Lord! Lord!."

The Order of the Prayer Meeting and Actual Process:

Call to Worship

Hymns

Reading Scripture: Zechariah 4:6

Sermon: Pastor Tae C. Roh, Senior Pastor of First Holiness Church, was the main speaker of the prayer meeting at Osanri Prayer Mountain Center at 11:00 a.m. on 6 May. His message was regarding being filled with the Holy Spirit. He demonstrated only receiving the Holy Spirit through the sincere prayer to God, trusting Jesus Christ's power would provide solutions and answers from all kinds of problems of the nation, churches, businesses, and families.

Offering

Closing Hymn

Benediction

Laying on of Hands: After benediction, several pastors came to the congregation and laid on them their hands. When pastors lay their hands on believers, they use the compulsive prayer with which they drive out evil spirits: "I command you in the name of Jesus Christ, demons of illness, power of darkness, be out of God's beloved saints." (Noh 1997a:63). During that time, some believers prayed with louder voices and were shaking their bodies.

4.3.3 Prayer meeting (*Kidowon Kidohoi*) at Haneolsan Prayer Mountain Center

Background: Haneolsan Prayer Mountain Center is located in 272 Daesung-Ri, Waseo-Myun, Gapyung-Kun near Seoul. This prayer mountain center provides believers who visit there with prayer meetings every dawn (5:00 a.m.), morning (10:00 a.m.), afternoon (2:00 p.m.), and night (7:00 p.m.). I participated in "Spring Prayer Meeting for Revival" from 7:00 to 9:00 p.m. on May 19th.

Preparation: Before starting the prayer meeting, a team together with a musical band led in singing ten or fifteen hymns or gospel songs. The western musical instruments were used such as a set of drums, a keyboard, guitars, and piano. Believers sang loudly ten or eleven hymns sequentially with clapping hands and shaking bodies. When they were singing hymns, some people prayed independently.

The Order of the Prayer Meeting and Actual Process:

Call to Worship

Hymns

Reading Scripture: Genesis 28:10-22

Sermon: Pastor Bung H. Lee, Senior Pastor of Great Light Church, was the main speaker of the prayer meeting at Haneolsan Prayer Mountain Center at 7:00 to 9:00 p.m. on 19 May. His message was about following Jesus Christ, the best way of getting blessing from God. He demonstrated that following Jesus Christ should be always connected to loving the local churches, the pastors, and neighbors.

Offering

Closing Hymn

Benediction

Laying on of Hands: After benediction, there was an announcement whoever wanted to have laying on of hands by Rev. Lee, should come forward to the pulpit. Around twenty people went forward and Rev. Lee kept laying on them his right hand on each person who came while he continued to pray with a loud voice. During the laying on of hands, people knelt down and prayed enthusiastically.

4.3.4 Revival Meeting at Keumran Methodist Church

Background: Revival meetings were usually held every dawn, morning, and night for 3-5 days in each church. The order of services of the meetings were similar to the order of the typical Christian worship including Call to Worship, Hymns, Scripture Reading, Sermon, Offering, Closing Hymn, and Benediction. The orders of the meetings, however, had more flexibility for expressing the preacher's and believers' passions and enthusiasm.

Preparation: "Spring Revival Meeting" at Keumran Methodist Church, the largest Methodist congregation in Korea (pastored by Hongdo Kim) from May 4th through May 8th, from 7:30 p.m. to 9:30 p.m. Before starting the revival meeting, people prepared themselves in singing a dozen hymns and praying loudly. Musical instruments such as a piano and a drum were used. The drum was a traditional drum.

The Order of the Prayer Meeting and Actual Process:

Call to Worship

Hymns

Choir

Reading Scripture: Ephesians 2:1-2 (4 May)
 Luke 9:10-17 (5 May)
 Exodus 27 (6 May)
 Psalms 1 (7 May),
 2 Kings 1-14 (8 May)

Sermon: Pastor Hak I. Chang, Senior Pastor of Sindang First Methodist Church, was the main speaker of the revival meeting of Keumran Methodist Church every evening from 4 to 8 May. He preached the following themes on the days indicated:

- 4 May--"Who am I?" focusing on the privilege of being God's children.
- 5 May--"Create the Miracles!" focusing on the greatest power of our God.
- 6 May--"Be Servants of God!" focusing on Christian discipleship after being blessed from God.
- 7 May--"Those Blessed People" focusing on the wholeness of the blessings, including the spiritual and the material things.
- 8 May--"Live a Powerful Spiritual Life!" focusing on receiving the power of the Holy Spirit for the sake of God.

In sum, his messages were about identity of Christians related to God the Father who wanted his children to have blessing and power. He demonstrated that God's blessing and power could be bestowed only through the faithful prayer of Christians to God for the Kingdom of God.

Offering
Offering Prayer
Closing Hymn
Benediction

4.3.5 Revival Meeting at Juan Presbyterian Church

Background: "Spring Revival Meeting" at Juan Presbyterian Church, the largest Presbyterian congregation in Korea (pastored by Kumil Nah) on May 27th, at 7:30 p.m., from May 28th to May 30th, at 5:00 a.m. 10:30 a.m. and 7:30 p.m., and on May 31st, at 5:00 a.m.

Preparation: I will describe mainly four services held at early morning at 5:00 a.m. The evening worship forms were similar to those of Keumran Methodist Church. Before the early morning service of the revival meeting, some believers came to the sanctuary even 10 or 15 minutes early. They prayed wordlessly and prepared to receive God's words from the start of the day.

The Order of the Prayer Meeting and Actual Process:

Recite Apostle's Creed

Hymns

Reading Scripture: Luke 9:28-36 (28 May)
Matthew 24:45 (29 May)
Genesis 5:21-24 (30 May)
Revelation 21:1-8 (31 May)

Sermon: Pastor Sang N. Lee, Senior Pastor of Korean Lighthouse Church in Los Angeles, was the main speaker of the revival meeting at the church from 27 to 31 May. He preached the following themes:

- 28 May--"A Revival Meeting for Life Change"
focusing on the importance of
practicing the early morning prayer.
- 29 May--"Biblical Gospel of Eschatology"
focusing on believers' preparation for

Christ's Second Coming by submitting their wills to the Holy Spirit in their everyday lives.

30 May--"Walking with the Holy Spirit" focusing on believers's repentance.

31 May--"Jesus Christ's Second Coming" focusing on believers' lives of holiness onto God.

In sum, the speaker demonstrated that daily walking with the Holy Spirit through the submission of believers' wills to Jesus Christ who is the King of believers must be the best way to solve problems of family, business, and the nation.

Closing: The ongregation prayed by reciting the Lord's Prayer and the pastor announced that "whoever wants to pray, keep praying."

4.3.6 Revival Meeting at Yoido Full Gospel Church

Background: "Annual Revival Meeting" at Yoido Full Gospel Church, the largest church of Assembly of God in Korea (pastored by Yonggi Cho) from August 13th through August 15th every night at 7:30 p.m.

Preparation: Before starting the prayer meeting, thousands of people gathered together and began to sing loudly ten or eleven hymns in sequence with clapping hands and shaking bodies. Near to the time of opening the worship, the pastor and believers lifted up their hands and prayed together enthusiastically and loudly in preparation for receiving God's words.

The Order of the Prayer Meeting and Actual Process:

Call to Worship

Hymns

Choir

Reading Scripture: Hebrews 4:12-13 (13 August)
2 Peter 3:16 (14 August)
Malachi 4:2 (15 August)

Sermon: Pastor Jong S. Park, Senior Pastor of Choosin Presbyterian Church, was the main speaker of the revival meeting at Yoido Full Gospel Church at every evenings on 13-15 August. He spoke on the following biblical themes:

- 13 August--"Only By Faith" focusing on the fact that believers can receive the blessings of God not by money but only by their faith in Jesus Christ.
- 14 August--"Only By God's Words" focusing on the power of God's words, solving believers' problems for God's sake.
- 15 August--"Only By the Power" focusing on the right relationship between believers and Jesus Christ through constant prayers.

In sum, his messages were about the truth that only faith, only God's words, and only God's power could provide Christians blessings and answers from all problems of family, business, and the nation. He demonstrated that following Jesus Christ should be proved only through prayer, obedience to God's words and the power of the Holy Spirit.

Offering
Offering Prayer
Closing Hymn
Benediction

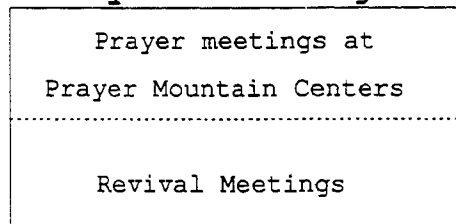
4.4 Some Korean indigenous patterns found in prayer meetings and revival meetings which are needed to be strengthened

There are some Christian indigenous religious patterns that are related to the forms of contemporary Korean Shamanism.

- 1) Emphasizing and receiving of messages regarding "restoration" or "blessing" through right relationship between God and believers: Pastors' and revivalists' messages were focused on restoration of God's blessings through faithful relationship between God and human beings.
- 2) Worshipping God through offering time and materials: Pastors and revivalists emphasized believers' offerings of time and material things to God in order to receive God's blessings. Believers offered their money frequently in each services.
- 3) Belief in empowerment of pastors: In prayer meetings, pastors practice the laying on of their hands and people believe that God is working through the pastors. Pastors and revivalists emphasized that pastors are God's servants. Believers received pastors' sermons as God's direction to their lives.
- 4) Participatory prayers in various forms: In the revival meetings and the prayer meetings, people prayed to God with various forms of prayer like wordless prayer, fasting prayer, and the personal and spontaneous free prayer that is a completely personal outpouring of one's needs. The content, the main part of the prayers, is the petition or request to solve their daily problems.
- 5) Close relationship between pastors and believers: Pastors and revivalists emphasized that believers have to have close relationship with their pastors. They encouraged believers to visit pastors for prayer whenever they meet problems. "Laying on of hands" was practiced as an expression of close relationship between pastors and believers.

Appendix 5 **Process of Evaluating and Strengthening Christian** **Indigenous Patterns**

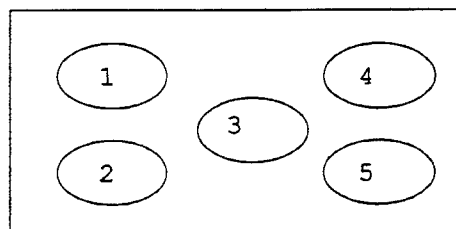
Grayson's Findings



Noh's Findings

(Christian Indigenous Patterns)

1. Emphasizing and receiving of messages regarding "restoration" and "blessings"
2. Worshipping God through offering time and materials
3. Belief in empowerment of pastors
4. Participatory prayers at sacred time and place
5. Close relationship between pastors and believers



Evaluating

1. Wesley's "Means of Grace"
2. Whiteman's Concepts of "Conversion" and "Indigenization"

Strengthening

1. Wesley's "Prevenient Grace"
2. Richardson's "Mechizedek Factors": Some Insights from Religious Studies on Korean Shamanism vs "Sodomic Factors" such as: manipulation, divination, calling up spirits.

Existing but more Emphasizing

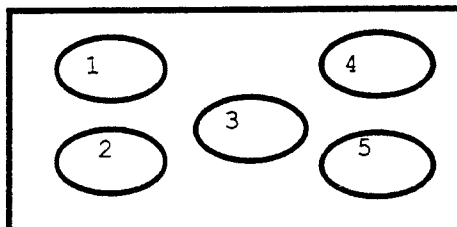


Figure 5 Process of Evaluating and Strengthening Christian Indigenous Patterns

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